AN EXCELLENT DISCOVRSE

vpon the now present estate of France.

FAITHFVLLY TRANSLATED out of French, by E. A.

gabriel harvey. 1592.

Discours sur l'estat de France. 1588.

La harangue du Roy Henry troisiesme. 1588.

La copie de la lettre du Roy Henry 4. escript au camp de S. Clou. 1589.

giuen mee bi Mr Woolfe, for a special rare Discourse.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop, ouer against the South-dore of Paules. 1592.

The life, & actions of the Queen Moother.
The Legendarie of the Guises.
Knight Doncts braue discourse of
Turkish-French Politiques.
The Dialogues of Eusebius Philadelphus.
A discourse vpon the estate of France. 1588.
This new discourse, as fine as the best. 1592.
Varieties of accidents, & manie pregnant practiques
haue refined diuers French witts, euen aboue
the sharpest Italians, or Spaniards at this instant.
Vigenere, de Mornay, de Montaigne, du Bartas;
Chis, & other fresh Discoursers, how rare witts?

An Excellent Discourse vpon the now present Estate of France, faithfullie

translated out of French, by E.A.

55.

IVstus, I remember that once I sent thée in paper a draught of France, with a shadowe of hir countenance towardes the latter dayes of hir late King. About that worke I tooke leisure enough, as being in safetie and free from all myserie and pittie: therin did I studie, so much as in me laie, to open vnto thée all hir wrinkles, stripes, scarres, and wounds, which she had receiued throughout all her former Ciuill warres. To be briefe, I flattered my selfe in my worke; and being indéed ouerbold and too full of inuention, I described some secret wounds and vnknowne mischiefs, which my selfe did but aime at by coniecture, and set down in manner of Prophesie: but oh wretched Prophet of the calamities of my mother. A thousand times since that the sequell had opened hir hidden griefes, haue I repented that euer I went about to discouer them. Howbeit, now if thou wouldest take a view of the curiositie of thy Flemings, who are abought the draught of their friend, in state as he was betweene the bed and the pit, not long before his last gasp, or soon after. Imagine my Iustus that I also am about the like, and doo purpose to leaue to our posteritie the table of France dying, as well imitated, if I maye; as was that which I traced for thée when thee was but sicke. So peradventure may some man hereafter laieng the peeres to-

Prima pars Politica.
Qualis Aschami discursus Germanicus.

gither, lowe them vp and worke in tapistrie the history of his time. Make therefore the like vse of this historie as I wished thee to doo of the other: that is, either keep it in thy studie, or if thou thinkest good impart it vnto thy freends, for mine owne parte I write it onelye but for thee and me.

Any man might easilie deeme that the driftes of the D. of Guize, togither with that huge and tyrannical ambition that came into the world with him, could neuer perishe or decay but with him. And where was he henceforth to erect his pillers and tearms, hauing so shamefullie expelled his king out of the Capitall Cittie of his realme. But in troth there was none of his partakers but could euen then obiect vnto him, that at his passage ouer that Riuer Rubicon, he was to haue done either more or lesse: the French, especyallye the Nobilitie, resting so sore offended at the reproch of theyr kinge, that a small matter woulde haue made the curtayne so badlie drawne, to haue serued for a spounge to wipe out whatsoeuer the coulours wherewith this cunning spirit had vntyll then shadowed the table of his life: yea and afterward there sprang vp many prophets who without inspiration did foreshew that either the king would rid his handes of the Duke, or the Duke would dyspatch the king: for that so great a wound could be closed vp againe there was neither likelihood nor hope.

The daye of Barricades then was indeede the instrument that fired the vttermost barre and bounde of all thys great Dukes enterprises: for since that daye whatsoeuer he did was doone without foresight, guided without iudgement, and finally had a most miserable end. This worthy worke perfourmed, whereas hauing once drawn his sword against his maister, wisedome woulde according to the prouerbe, that he should haue cast the scabbard into the riuer, he contrariwise in maner repented himselfe, and was perswaded by some other meanes to compasse his desire of the last king. He who by open act had already attayned the highest step of his enterprise, though bad counsel slipped suddenly

venie downe to the lowest, and began againe to seeke out the olde gaberdine of authoritie royall, togither with the hope of his great fauour, thereby to recouer the Frenche, whom he thought to be somewhat offended at his presumption. But as God sometimes taketh awaye the sences of man, so did this poore soule beléeue, that a Prince, though iniured, might be reconciled: also that he should find some deuice to perswade a Monarch to resigne his crowne: or if he could not perswade that, yet at the least he might induce the commons to beléeue that he had, least men shoulde any way mislike, if with his owne consent he should afterward thrust him into some religious house. The king on the other side after this offence, conceiued an obstinate and firm resolution to be reuenged. And truely the great maister blow that afterward ensued, did euidentlie declare howe God dallyeth with the purposes of menne, yea of the verye mightiest and before they be aware, reuerseth them farre from their imaginations.

55. The Duke of Guise.

The poore clock laboureth euen for like with his feeble wheeles to attaine to his houre, and hauing atchieued the verie point, behold the maister with the ende of his lyttle finger returneth it back to the veris extremitie of his circle, and euen so is it with mã. The king bethinketh him to assemble his estates, weening among them to be of credyte sufficient to haue the lawe of the Duke of Guize. The Duke yet more vnaduised, seemeth to craue the same, thinking for his part among those deputies to find fauor inough to wrest the scepter from his king. The one was deceiued, the other hadde like to haue beene. The one was within two inches of falling into the pit that he had digged for his enimie, euen for his enimie I say, whom he preuented but one day. To be short, vntill God had pronounced his decrée concerning them, neither the one nor the other was able one quarter of an houre before to say, who shoulde first haue rid his spindle.

This great tree the Duke of Guize once ouerthrowne, such as rested vnder the shadow thereof lay for a while be-

The first part of this discourse, Politique, & pragmatique.

ric naked: and vndoubtedlie, as I haue elsewhere sayd, himselfe only was the whole league: himselfe only bare more partes of greatnesse then all the other partakers togither: so that had the late king beene resolued to perfecte his businesse, and not to leaue thinges at halfes, according to his custome, and within two houres after this effect had take his horsse and added his presence and power to the terrour of the leagued townes, yet astonished at this great accydent, it is likely he might haue eschewed the mishap wherin he was since intangled. But God whoe had smiled at the vaine enterprises of the one, when their turne came, laughed also to scorne such remedies as the other had prouided.

This Prince, who otherwise wanted neither courage, nor iudgement, did no sooner see that his enemie dead, but by and by hee beleeued he had no more ennemies in the world, and indeed it is most certaine, that among his familiers he gaue out these speeches. This day am I king, and yet contrariwise euen the same day hee began not to be so. This confidence made him so carelesly to go about his businesse that he let go Orleans, which hee might haue saued, had he but onely shewed himself. He suffered the Duke of Mayne to returne and strengthen himselfe both with men and meanes: hee laughed at those whiche urged him with speed, to send for the army he had in Poytou: he was offended with suche as counselled him at the same time to vse the king that nowe liueth togither with the power of those of the religion.

Finally he so contemned all their helpes (which neuertheless within one moneth after he was constrained to vse) that within fiue weekes, hee found himselfe restrained to the kingdome of Tours, Bloys & Baugency only. In like manner as the murder of the dictator Cæsar serued for a pretence to Antony and Augustus to ouerthrowe the Romaine commonwealth: Of whome the one before was in so small estimation, that they made a conscience to kil hym with cæsar, & the other who was Cæsars nephew, had scarce

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out growne the state of a page, so farre was hee from mistrust of hauing in hand such meanes as he afterward found to subdue both his companions, his enemies and the liberty of the Romaines: euen so the Duke of Mayne, togither with the remnant of the house of Lorrayne, whom men would not haue thought, during ẏ duke of Guizes life not to haue béene capable of so much as one village, or to haue béen able to disquiet the suburbes of a doue-cote, did after the blowe finde those people (whome the elder brother had longe before sufficientlye prepared vn to sedition) so readie to rise, so grounded in disobedience: the poorer sort, and the most néedie (who alwaies do make the greatest number in mutinies) so hasty of the spoyle of the wisest and richest, that with a trice vpon this slacknesse, and bad procéedinges of the king, all France generally reuolted. And thus wée sée what became of doing things to halfe: a fault that few Princes do euer escape. Thus euen at once, all France in maner being risen against him, hee was in the end in that vncertaintie (all other helpes fayling him) forced to cal in his brother the king of Nauarre, who nowe reigneth after him: But so late that the others businesse were so well knit and setled, that there rested no way to breake them but by force. Yet must I indeuour, in writing this parcel of our historie, to shew to such as shall come after vs such thinges as seeme most notable in this great accident. Euerie man thinketh that the sunne was neuer so faire as that day that he séeth it shine: and we referre all aduentures in the worlde to our selues, and doe beléeue that whatsoeuer was done in former ages, was neuer wrought but for ours, as if God had neuer beene wise, circumspect, woonderfull and iealous of his glory but now. This is an error, yet doe I confesse, that being tainted with this common error, my selfe cannot chuse but beléeue that this great, incomprehensible and ineuitable essence of essences, this spirite eternally working, and working onely for his glorie, hath vouchsafed in our daies to shew more visible, moreeuident and more notable tokens then euer. Hee termeth

himselfe, the God of vengeance, and saith that vengeance is his onely: Oh what titles? who is there that better then he knoweth how without passion or affection to yeld to euery man according to his desert, to some good, to some euill: who but he is able to lengthen the reignes of the time of patience, and to minister waight to the Iron thorough the length of the cordes. We silly men doe accompt the interest of our money according to the time that wee haue lent it for, and so doth he reckon the vsurie of his iust punishments after the delaies that he hath vsed in sending them, such as so soone as they haue offended, doe feele the rod, doe scape good cheape, but hee that laugheth at his forbearance, and watcheth without smart, shall before hys death find himselfe charged with great arrearages These thirtie yeares long haue some part of France exclaimed vpon the house of Guise, yea euen before anie suspition of rebellion had possessed the French nations hearts. The late king Henry the second prophecied thus much, That the house of Guise should strip his children into their doublets, and his people into their shirts. How long haue the litle children sung this song? Who hath not heard of the prophesie of Mesnil Aubry, printed in the yeere 1560. When Lorraine hosen shalbe ioyned to French doublets, great will be the troubles of the points that shall tie them together. Who is ignorant of the notes found about Aduocate Dauid, who was taken in ỹ yeer 1577. Yea or who hath not knowne that the house of Lorraine claimeth to be descended of the stocke of Charlemayne, and pretendeth Antiquum exscindere regnum, & magno gentem deductam rege Capeto? This hath been proclaimed throughout France, at the least these 35. yeares, and yet so good was their fortune vnto the end, that euen vntill the verie extremitie, neither kinges nor people could be brought to beleeue it: so that contrariwise they were the kinges true seruantes, who opon their garmentes wore the true white crosse, much more faithfull then the Bourbons flower de luce. When the late Prince of Condé was slaine, Sir

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France.

said the Cardinall of Lorrain to king Charles: You should haue your health well this morning; for you haue lost a great deale of your bad bloud. In their houses there was no speech but of the kinges seruice of fidelitie: to the king: One God, one king: one faith, one law. This was their poesie. There was nothing spoke of but of detesting of these heretickes that seized vpon the kings treasures, that toke his towns, that rebelled: that lifted vp their parricide weapons against the maiestie of the father of the country. To be briefe, of three wordes, one was euer, The king or hys seruice. Yea which is more: Fortune assisting their fainely, made their deathes as populer and notable as their liues. One was slaine before Orleans: another before Rochell: one was slaine in a skirmish, another in a battell, and another was besieged in some fort, and all of a meere desire to serue the king, as it hath very well since appeared. Yet in the meane time about this quarrell, in 35. yeres space they haue found meanes to rid away manie that were annoyance vnto them, and moste subtilly to cast the hatred of the people, and the reproch of the offence vpon those that neuer thought thereof. Oh hipocrites, you thought belike to haue deceaued God, but now shall you see howe hee can requite you: you had the aduantage of those of the religion, who oppressed by your violence and crueltie, took armes & sometimes stirred vp ciuill warres in France: yea you had a great barre and aduantage ouer them. For there is no violence, no crueltie, no tyrannie, neither any occasion whatsoeuer, that can excuse a subiectes rebellion, or iustifie the lifting vp his weapon against his prince. And indeed albeit throughout the whole course of their warres they neuer quarrelled for the power and authoritie of their kinges: yea and albeit alwaies by their obedience, submission and facility they gaue euident proof, that their hearts wer not set vpon any bad meanings. Also that necessity rather then any voluntarie desire did compell them, yet hath God neuer blessed their battailes, but still they haue been beaten, chased and ouercome both by man and fortune, vntill now

of late, that your conspiracie hath iustified their defence, and the title of the crowne beeing conioyned with the cause of religion, hath in respect thereof, shewed their weapons to be lawfull in the handes of the chiefest prince and principall magistrate of the realme, who commanded them. Let vs therefore beginne at the beginning, and consider the conformitie of your historie with theirs. They had at the least some colour in their rising: for they were burned, they were banished, they were driuen away: and what say you, shew vs I pray you the first title of your league published in the yere 1577. and in the yere 1585. haue you anie like occasion? They alwaies acknowledged their Prince, and did neuer assault him, say you as much: vndoubtedly no more did you. For the Duke of Guize at the Barricados thought to haue take the king for an other: his quarrell was not to the king, and as for such matter as hath since fallen out vnder the Duke of Mayne, who denounced him vnworthy to raigne, who made vp his processe: who trayled his armes along the streete: and finally who killed him, we are not to stand vpon them: for it was iust wrath that procured all this: should you for this lose your right? No no, for where before you were the kinges seruants, you are now become seruants and lieuetenants to the Crowne. And is it not all one? Oh ye hypocrites, if you were disposed to grant the truth, the Huguenotes had inough to quite you withall: yea I am sure that when they whome you accused to seeke to seize vpon their kinges at Meaux and Amboise, shall in another worlde haue heard how you haue murdered yours: they will make bonefires. Behold therfore how God plucketh off your visards: see how he laieth open the shame of sinners: and surely if he would not fauor the excusable weapons of such as concerned him neerer then you do, he can verie wel punish (as he hath alreadie begunne) your horrible rebellions, full of all sedition and treason.

Now to conclude this argument, what hath happened, God hath permitted that they that accused others of trea-

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son, are nowe condemned thereof themselues: that they, who falsely had nothing in their mouthes, but the kinges seruice, as traytors haue had his life, and shedde his bloud with their murdering handes: that they who preached nothing but obedience, and cast others in the teeth with mutinie and sedition, are nowe tainted with proclaiming of rebellion, with iustifying of it, with publicke propounding, resoluing, allowing, and authorising, that it is lawful for the French Nation to accompt themselues quit and discharged of their oath of fidelitie, that they had sworne to their king: that they who condemned the taking of armes for religion and libertie of conscience, haue armed euen the Hermites, the Capuchins, the most reformed and strictlest ordered Fryers, whom they haue made an example of rebellion to the people: that they who mainteined that men were to beare with the Prince, were he euen a Pagan: who auowed that matter of religion was not sufficient to withdraw the subiect from his due obedience to the Magistrate: who thereupon alleaged the true examples of so manie ancient Christians, as liued vnder the heathen, yea euen of the Lord himselfe, who gaue vnto Cæsar that that was due vnto Cæsar, and said that his kingdome was not of this world, who neuer appealed from an infidell iudge who disarmed his legions of Angels, and with his prohibition restrained them from troubling in anie point the obedience, vnder the which he vouchsafed to be borne: that euen they I say, haue taught the peasantes hand to warre: haue put a speare head vppon the end of his goade: haue changed the Mettwand into a Lance, the Hammer and the Anuile into armed Saddles: and of a furious communaltie haue furnisht a perfect armie against their country, against the lawes of their estate, and against their Soueraigne Magistrate. And why haue they done all this? for feare least hereafter a presumptiue successor to the realme, an vncertaine heire should alter the catholicke religion, and so in time to come the professors thereof, might incurre some persecution. Is this all? shall I thus make an end?

No ye hypocrites, No, for God, the great God of vengeance, yea euen God hath vouchsaked that they who together with their fathers had committed so many murders in the worlde, should themselues be murdered: that they who with a thousand blows had pierced an honorable old man, whom they had wounded, and bleeding, liuing, speaking, and yet intreating, they had cast headlong out of a window, shoulde themselues yeld their stomaches to the dagger of reuenge, and be likewise cast forth headlong: and what more? that they who had lighted vp so many torches of dissension among vs, & scattered abroad so manie ashes of the innocent, shoulde themselues be burned and reduced into ashes, leauing of them no more after their deathes, but a pittifull remembrance.

Now will I turne ouer the leafe, and flatter the king whome I serue: not to perswade him as the Philosopher did Alexander after the death of Clitus, That his good fortune made all thinges lawfull for him: But to shew him that God hath euermore had such a particular care ouer him, as neuer king had such apparant testimonies of Gods assistance, to the end himselfe may thereof gather a conclusion.

These thirtie yéers haue our kings and their counsailors alwayes accused the professors of religion of all the ciuill warres, of all their discordes, and of all theyr broyles: whether rightly or wrongfully, I will not here defend, as one, who euermore in minde haue obserued this auncient and fatherly errour, that the Princes power procéedeth of God, that his yoke is from aboue, and so not to be cast off vpon anie cause, pretence or reason whatsoeuer. Yet thus much I must say, that they of the Religion, neuer quarrelled for the authoritie royall: that they euermore tendered readie obedience: that they neuer alleadged Commonwealth, or reformation of the Estate, as matter not concerning them, albeit there were among them some Princes of the blood: yea and of the chiefest whome it hadde better beseemed then the house of Lorrayne.

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Yea they, so soone as there was anye care taken of their consciences, did immediatlie cast off their white cassocks, they sent backe their armies: they rendered theyr townes: they returned without mistrustе to their houses and thence the next day to the court, there simply to haue their throates cut. In the end God would no longer suffer this simplicitie to be thus slandered, but satisfied with ỳ punishments which himselfe had inflicted vppon them for taking armes againste his annointed (though peraduenture iustlie) he would no longer suffer the tytle and blemishe of rebellion wrongfully to be layd vpon them. And albeit in respect of the kinges againste whom they had risen, hee had by sundry testimonies condemned their enterprise, yet did he excuse them in respect of the rest, who kindled the fire in the Princes eares, and who being a hundred times more wicked, more ambitious, and more rebellious, did wrongfullie oppresse them. Particularlie I maye speake it and the effects haue reuealed it, and I doo verelie beleeue that the person of the prince whom they had among them, was most deare vnto him, whose handes vndoubtedlie hee had consecrated to vse afterward in some greater worke.

After manie warres therfore, to the professors of the religion vnfortunate, the late king laste deceased, did in the end grant them peace in his realme, in the yeare 1576. vpon certaine conditions, which he neuer altred since. Yea, it may be said, that this was the last yeare, wherein God visited them, and vouchsafed couering their faultes, to reueale the offences of their enimies. For the next yeare, 1577. did the Duke of Guize laye the firste foundations of the league, and then beganne also the prince and his moste faithfull seruantes to perceiue the purposes and drifts of this race, so often published & proclaimed by the trompets of the Huguenotian Cassanders, but neuer credited vntyll then.

Peace continued a while, neither was it interrupted but a little in the yeares 78. and 80. which was but a smal flame of stubble, soone quenched and kindled againe, by the

light whereof it euidentlie appeared, how loath they of the religion were to stir: and indeed the chiefest and strongest part of them, neuer tooke armes any of both these tymes. Finallie, peace was againe resolued vpon, confirmed and sallie, and vniuersallie concluded in the yeare 1581. Yea, there was alreadie almost none in the Realme but imagined all feare to be ouer on that side, when behold the storm and mutinie appeared from another: yet was not this enough with God who neuer dooth any thing to halues, for he vouchsafed that they should now be iustified. as also hee was resolued to condemne the hypocrisie of the others.

Well, now we commeth on the yeare 85. wherein impatiencie of attendance surprised the spirite of the Duke of Guize, a man patient enough in all other things except in attent of a kingdome. France was not yet in perfect peace, but a sleepe: and Marriners do affirme that great calmes are for the most part prognostications of as great stormes. They of the religion had forgotten euen all mistrust: the ancientest of their captaines planted and laboured their grounds: the yonger sort weary of French deuises turned their enterprises to Spaine: the townes by peace reduced to the authoritie royall, were freed from all magistrates repugnant to their Kinges: and all this alteration was brought to passe in fiue yeares onlie: and all this did God erpressedlie bring to passe to the end in so great clearnesse of time all the world, might easilie perceiue from whence the first cloud should arise.

On a sudden in the middest of all this publike tranquilitie was there descried a lothsome & horrible conspiracie throughout the whole Realme, contrined by the house of Lorraine. And to take from them all excuse, there was neither iniurie nor manifest offence that driue them hereto. So that among all aduantages that wee haue against them, and among all the chiefe defaultes descried in their affaires, we must needes saye that they could neuer finde any one cause worthy their discontentment, but contrarywise, who so shall seeke out the truth, shall finde it moste

The house of Lorraine.

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shamefull. They were not persecuted: they were not burned: there was no speech of banishment or proscription: so as we may see the differences betweene the works of God and the feeble imitations of his enimie. All that the one doth is full of iustice, foundation and reason, the other contrariwise, in all his effects wanteth all three. Who armed the house of Lorrayne this yeare? themselues doo not yet know and the greatest worke they had at their first reconciliation was to imagine, how with any colour to complaine. For as for religion it was not yet in place, neyther did they take it but for want of a better pretente. And to alledge the reformation of the Realme, as afterward they did: wherein could they ground it? for they ought first to haue begun at themselues, who into their familie had gotten the abstract of all the disorders of the estate: the examples of the sale of all sortes of offices, of vnreasonable giftes, of wrongefull confiscations, of ecclesiasticall promotions vnworthily conferred. To bee briefe, of all the calamities that may bee complained of in a corrupted Realme, the titles rested in their familie.

All this notwithstanding, whether by right or by wrong, armes must bee leuied against the last kinge, the pointes whereof as well as the pretence they did in the end conuert against this. But so grosse and with so euident trecherie, that all men might see, that it was not because he was a Huguenot, but for that he might hereafter happen to bee king: so ỹ this enterprise did not only reueale the very bottomes of the hearts of the Guizians, but also did wholy excuse whatsoeuer the former faults of the Huguenots, causing men to thinke that oftentimes before they had reason to looke to themselues, and so often vpon the argument of mistrust to take weapon.

At the same time also, God who as I haue sayd, had alwaies a particular care of the king now liuing, did myraculously assist him with a discreet resolution, the whiche I doo the more truelie confesse to haue proceeded from God, for that I knowe it to bee farre from his nature, togither

with the desire of all such as were at that time about him. For if at the very time when these troubles of the Guizes began, he what through courage and youth, had strait waies had recourse to his weapons wherto the defence of his king & himselfe ministred argument sufficient, who could haue perswaded the king of Sweden and others, that in all these turmoiles the king of Nauarre and the Huguenots so long time slandered with the blame of all the ciuil warres, were altogither innocent of this sedition? who could iustlie in so sudden taking of armes, distinguish which of these parties first began? The offers that he exhibited to the king did testifie to all Christendome how truelye hee was desirous to serue him: his patience in the middest of his enimies weapons, how hardlie he tooke the miseries of his countrey, and finallie the resolution of both the other factions, to ouerrun him only, being vnarmed, naked, surprized, comming as a man should say to offer himselfe to his maister, and to saye vnto him Heere I am, and then by his commandement returning home in his doublet and his hose vnder the assurance of Publique faith and promise: all this togither ministred such a light of his innocencie, and became such a hart-breaking to God and man, that all Europe could not but condemne this treason.

What followed hereupon? God worketh nothinge to halues: where he sendeth his blessing, hee forgetteth nothing. It is not after the manner of these pettie Princes of the world who giue goods but no honour: if both the one and the other, yet neither health nor life. This yoonge Prince euen from his cradle brought vp in labour, had by his fathers death bene sufficiently prepared against domesticall afflictions: by the old Admyrall Chastillions schooling, instructed to the warre: by the losse of sundrie battels wherein (though yoong) he was present, accustomed and taught the diuers accidents of Fortune, yet would not all this suffice. Of all that was passed he was but a looker on, himselfe had as yet done nothing.

In the end God brought him to the lists, where hee op-

posed

poled no smal champions against him: he trieth him against mightie strong wrastlers, yet dooth he so husband him, that you would haue sayd that whatsoeuer was doone in the first yeares of his warres was but an assaie, a preamble: also that by little and little giuing him the glorie of manie petty combats, he would not neuertheless there hazzarde him, whom he reserued to greater matters. After this all the warre was denounced against him, and the euents of fours yeares procured that he against whome one part of Christendome had conspired, whoe already was by the others iudged to be lost, wept and bewailed, dooth not onely resist and defend himselfe, but maketh so honourable defence that he remaineth maister in diuers combats, he couragiously keepeth fifty boules, he winneth a great battell, and at the departure resteth in reputation one of the greatest Capteines in Europe.

Then happeneth the great crisis of this Lotharingian sickneslie at the estates at Bloys, where God spake earnestlie for him. Man doth there assemble to make his processe and out of all corners of France are there chosen, not deputies of the estates with their quiers, but accusers with informations against him: but God will iudge the processe, beginning first with the condemnation and execution of the others, and then by the effects giueth sentence for the innocencie of this man, euen when he thought least of it: when after the losse of his great forren armie he was at Rochell, vtterlie vnprouided of all humaine meanes to resiste the storme wherewith the cloud at Bloys threatned him. God cast his eies vpon him, and by an accident neither feared nor hoped for, nor preuented, did vtterlie subuert his enemyes deuises. Neyther was this all, for to the end to make perfect the account, the king who of weakenesse was forced to warre against him, by a greater and more lively necessitie is now driuen in the view and knowledge of all France, to capitulate with him and to call him to his helpe and seruice, so carefull is God euen in the least matters, to satisfie all the affections of this prince. Thus in the twinkling of an

eie such as hated him, doo loue him: such as hadde pursued him do make much of him: and suche as had driuen him awaie, doo reuoke him. He hauing beene hated, pursued and driuen away, at his brothers first word returneth: casteth him selfe groueling at his fæt: calleth to his seruice as manie as he can, in such sort that euen to the extremities of all Christendome it was knowne, that hee was at the kinges deuotion leading of his Auantgard, before that in Fraunce, the meanes of their reconciliation was heard of.

Nowe concerning all that passed after the two kinges were togither: how God blessed their actions: how the late king of a man shut vp in his Cittie of Tours, became in a moment maister of the field and driue his enimies euen in to their hold, I will not heere particularise, bicause the honour thereof is due generallie to all the French Nobilitie, as well as to the king now raigning. Yet will I say that so often as he shall call to mind what happened him before he was king, if he boweth not the knees both of his hart and bodie, and doth not auow that he is as highlye bound vnto God as euer was prince, he is the most vnthankefull that euer swaied scepter. Againe, if the late kinge before his death had not called him into his seruice and so iustified his innocencie: if by the offyces hee commytted to his charge, he had not approued his degrée and calling in the sight of all the Lords of France: if by his last speeches he had not commended vnto him, both his people & the pursuit of his death, how could so many nations haue byn brought to consent: so many Princes & lords to receiue him, of whō the most part a while before at the command of their late P. had followed the wars against him. If God had not suffred the late K. to come to such an end: to be murdered by a fryer; who could haue taken out of the heartes of straungers, and the mouthes of his ennemies, the suspition and blame of hys deathe? If this man had not at the same instant beene in place, assisted with the chiefe Magistrates of the realm: and accompanied with that great armie which arriued but two dayes before: w what hands could hee haue seazed vppon so

waigh-

waighty a scepter? what armes had hee had, where with to lift vp this fallen crowne, and to set it vpon his own head? All Christendom almost opposed themselues against him: the K. of Spayn for his interest: the Pope for his: the house of Lorrain for theirs: almost al the neighbors, & al the subiectes. Vpon the only feare heerof, had they so long warred against him: had they cast forth their excommunications, their thunderboltes, their censures against him. They had procured the estates, the Princes, yea the king himselfe to speake against him: they had made fundamentall lawes, not to erect, but to reuerse the foundations of an estate: and all to hurt him: all by maine force: (It was Gods will, that so he might shewe his power:) After they had wasted his men and meanes: after they had broken him a great forraine armie: after they had driuen him into a corner of the realm, and accused and entangled him, there were none but such as were accompted desperate, that durst anouch him to be their maister. All the realme assembled to condemne him, to plucke from him not the inheritance, but euen all hope of succession, which yet was farre enough from him. Then did the Monarch of Monarchs proclaim, It shall not be so, ye hypocrites, ye shall not deceiue me: ye accuse, ye pursue the innocent: But your selues shall perish first, and I will absolue him: I will iustifie him: I will call him againe: and in despite of your indeuours, I will crowne him king in the face of the whole realme, euen before the capitall towne.

Remember this O Prince, not to boast or exalt thy selfe: for if thou canst well consider of it, herein is nothing of thine, no not so much as those humaine meanes, which God hath expressly put into the hands of others, to the end thou mightest beware of vaine attributing of any thing to thy selfe: but that thou shouldest auouch him, of whome thou hast receaued these benefits, to be able in thee to finish his worke, in case thy forgetfulnesse take not from him his desire, and that of a vessell of election, whereto hee hath chosen thee, thy faultes make thee not to become a vessell

of stinking sauour in his sight. But see how these speeches wherein there is entermingled some deuinitie, doe manie times carie vs awaie, as also it is almost vnpossible, but that in speaking thereof, wee should incurre some extasie, not farre different from passion: But I will returne to my matter, Iustus. Nowe am I greatly troubled in going about to teach thee what France is. When I last writ vnto thee, her substance albeit rotten, corrupt, and canker eaten, did neuertheless subsist: for the order of a kingdome, which was the fashion, did yet hold, and the one united with the other, did support that sicke bodie. But soone after ensued this horrible reuolt, whereby openly in most prouinces of the realme, and in the best townes, they shook off the yoke of the soueraigne Magistrat, whose sacred person was immediately after violated. Out of this execrable parricide sprong confusion in all places. Iustice the chiefe branch of authoritie royall, did wither away so soone as shee had lost the strength of her stocke: Then might you see aulter against aulter, Diademe against Diademe, parliament against parliament: The treasurie, the sinewes of all estates, straight dried vp: for the channels whereby they vsed to runne, were broken with this violence, and the spring scattered abroad, some heere and some there. Weapons vniuersally couered the whole realme. All other occupations, al other functions, al other exercises ceased, only the souldiers profession continewed. These were the last gaspes of France: then her naturall force failing her: her bloud and spirites vanishing: we were amazed to see her members in lieu of their motions, and naturall actions to begin to wring, and shrinke, and to become horrible stiffe: for there she lost both life and shape. Nowe so long as the vndeuided do liue, wee neuer consider thinges but in their full being: but life once lost, they doe dissolue into their first substaunce, and that is a signe that there is no more life. Euen so the state hauing lost her shape, which made her to be, is returned into the principles whereof she was composed: A most euident token that now she is not. All

corruption

corruptiõ is the beginning of regeneration: of the Bull is is ingendred the Bée: of the Horse, Waspes: of Hans carrion a Serpent: but before this generation bee wrought, what name shall we giue to our carrions? Our realme alas, hath lost her life: she is no longer a realme among such as haue cast off authoritie royall. Howe shall wee then call her in the meane time, while out of this goodly Colossos there bee bred some pettie monster of Commonwealth, some Canton, some bayliwike, some Grisons league, or some such like matter? Iustus thou couldest hardly without teares behold thy fathers bodie stretched vppon a table: but if thy selfe shouldest be forced to be the Annatomist, and with thy owne handes with a rasor to open his nanckes, and shewe heere the heart, there the liuer, then the kidnies, the pappes, the milte, the inwards &c. and after his death to seeke there the causes of his sickenesse, oh my Iustus what wouldest thou doe? Imagine then in this woefull discourse, I am now to celebrate the like funerals to my mother.

The kingdome of France euen from the time that histories doe first make mention thereof, is composed of two parties: the Prince, and the Subiectes. The person of the prince sole and onely, bearing in himselfe, and vppon himselfe his authoritie, which hee receiueth by lawfull succession from his predecessor, and comming to his kingdom is not bound to anie condition, but to the Salicke law only, and may not be either chosen, dispossessed, or controlled: neither hath hee anie companion in his soueraignetie, or iudge of his gouernment. And indeede I thinke him the chiefe Prince in the worlde: that in his titles may vse this phrase. By the grace of God, king. Not onely for that hee is not bound to anie for his realme, but to himselfe onely: but also because that hitherto I do not thinke, that euer there was anie state more absolute, more firme, or more representing the soueraigne principalitie of God.

The subiectes are composed of three seuerall sortes of men: First of the Clergie, who in respect of the honour

that they haue to be employed in the seruice of God do take the first place: of the Nobilitie, who enioy the honours, dignities, offices, fees, and places of Iustice throughout the realme, and in respect of all these qualities, haue their perticuler oath of fidelitie to the king, acknowledging no other but him onely and simply, and without any partaker: these do hold a seuerall bodie in the estate, admitting none among them, vnlesse in deede or reputation hee be of their coate: and finally of the commons, among whome are comprehended the dwellers, aswell in the countries as in walled townes, Marchantes, Burgesses, Artificers and all other the countrey people.

The Clergie as subiectes haue alwaies acknowledged after a sort the magistrats but as priests: for albeit theyr inces haue euermore extreamely fauoured them, yet haue they alwaies had some backe dore, and willingly had an eie to their high Priest, and as subiectes to him they haue brought in this abuse, (an abuse indeede it may well bee called, howe ancient soeuer it be) that in criminall causes the ordinary iurisdiction should haue no power ouer them, and so haue made themselues the roddes wherewith they will be punished when they doe amisse: yet in France this order doth more acknowledge their king then in any other prouince in the world: yea and hath perticuler priuiledges attributed to the French Church against the popes authoritie, of the which our kinges are perpetuall protectors. Our kinges haue the nominations to all benefices boyd whatsoeuer, which the Popes are bound to follow: Our kings do by their officers iudge in soueraigntie in cases of possession of ecclesiasticall goodes: And many offences there be, the notice whereof by the Canons is receaued from the seculer iudge: which notwithstanding in France we haue reduced to the tribunall of the ordinarie offices of the realme: yet can it not be said that this order is indissolubly tied to the monarchie, either that purely and absolutely it dependeth vpon the king.

The Commons in our France is that part which is most

most oppressed and least esteemed, which hath most wealth for others, and least honour and libertie for it selfe. It is vnder the soueraigntie not of the King onely, but also of manie Lords both of the Nobilitie and Cleargie, whose dominion is oftentimes vnto them euen rude enough, and yet hath it no remedie against them. For the Noble man and the Prelate in respect of their callings, hauing nerer accesse to the Prince, are still in greater fauour then it. This estate is the most populous of all, and might be the richest, if men would take lesse vpon them.

But receiuing nothing of the King, it is certaine that it is not altogither of such interest with the estate royall as the Church and much lesse then the Nobilitie. For contrariwise the Nobilitie is the piller of the monarchie: the kings right arme, the prop of his scepter, the strength and honour of the Realme, and the fayrest flo wer of the estate. The Nobilitie acknowledge none but the king onely, neyther doo our Princes take their originall from the Clergie or Cõmonaltie, but from the onely Nobilitie whereof them selues are the first gentlemen. This estate is least in number of men and poorest of all the three: neyther dooth the Prince take therof any more then the seruice of the sword, whereas contrariwise he enricheth himselfe with the spoile of the other two. He preferreth it before the others, and vseth the seruice almost of no other.

Vpon this occasion haue the Commons alwaies enuied it, and therefore for the better defence of it when tyme might serue, it hath necessarilie at all times fixed & tied it selfe to the king, from whose seruice it seldome swarueth. But howsoeuer it be, although sometimes it may haue abandoned some princes person, yet will it neuer beare the establishment of any other gouernment then the Monarchy, as finding nothing so repugnant to it selfe as the Dominion of the people.

Now while our estate flourished, there was nothinge more excellent to bee noted then the knitting togither of these three members vnder their head, which was such as

it was hard to deme to which of the three the Prince was most inclined, either which of them he ratherest supported. The Church attayned his loue through the bond of conscience, the straightest bond in the world, so that the Prince that feared God honoured them: the Atheist feared them, and the fauour of Kinges, since Christianitie tooke place, was neuer estranged from them, as appeareth by the extreame wealth that they reaped through their princes liberalities. The cõmons with their swet norishing their maisters, had of necessitie a good countenance and a cherfull: for to speake properlie, the King hath nothing in France but what the Commons giue him. The Nobility gineth him nothing: the Clergie little, and that vnwillinglie only the Commons doo fill the couetous Princes eie and hys cofers: it furnisheth the prodigall Princes expenses: herevppon albeit in retayle in court the gentleman or Abbot shall oftentimes be borne out against the peasaunt, yet in grosse when the Nobilitie or the Clergie opposed themselues against the Commons, It was not alwaies so.

The Nobilitie, their Soueraignes minions: his companions in France almost in all his actions, his force, hys eminencie, the ornament of his estate, reaped alwaies at his hands particular fauours, and could neuer haue any argument to complaine of his good countenance to the other two, whose substance was daintilie drawen away to giue vnto these. Yet is not this all: for the verye members had such mutuall interest among themselues, that as togither with theyr head the Nobles honoured the Clergie, and stood in need of the Commons: so the Clergie reaped benefite of them both: and the Commons, the fauour and protection as well of the one as of the other, whereby neuer during the course of so manye Ages, did there appeare suche manifeste ielousie and deuision as nowe. Cursed therfore be thou, whosoeuer thou art, yea cursed be thy shadowes, if thou beest dead, who hast broken this godly vnion betweene the head and the members, and in lieu of vniting them together, according as thy suppotts did

preach

preach vnto vs, hast dismembred this faire flourishing Monarchie: Do euen what thou wilt thou hireling of Satan, capable of deuision, not of vnion: of corruption, not of generation: of scattering, not of gathering together: thou instrument not of preseruation, but of ruine. Those brackes and peeces that thou wilt make will neuer come to good, beleeue thee who list. Well these were the richest pillers whereupon our temple was afore time builded. Nowe that it is plucked downe, let vs see what maner of substances there are, and in what sort it is fallen. States that admit alteration, if they be populer, are for the moste part changed into Monarchies: if they be monarchall into populer. The reason is euident: for thinges neuer change but into their contraries, otherwise there were no chaunge. No the commaundement of one, and of many are one opposite to another. Yet do I not say that all thinges different are contraries: for sometimes from gouernment royall men leap not straight into the populer: neither from the populer into the Royall: but there is a sort betweene both. As when in lieu that onely one did command, men suffer not straightwaies matters to come to the liking of the whole multitude, but they choose some small number to command: or when in lieu, that the multitude did all, they reduce their causes into a smaller cõpanie. But howsoeuer it be, this I will vphold, that he that will chaunge the gouernment royall, must of necessitie establish the authoritie of many, from whom in the end by like degrée of change they discend to a whole commonaltie: and contrariwise, whosoeuer will reuerse a populer estate, must first reduce the authoritie to a few, and that few in the end to one only. Thus much more must we say, that all seditions that euer sprong vp in any estate had this resemblance, that the head was alwaies one of the nobilitie, albeit the members were of the body of the multitude. The Commons is the waue, it is the furrow in the water capable to swell, and to bée driuen with the first winde that bloweth, and that ordinarily against it owne commoditie. The state of Rome re-

mained in the handes of the commons. The Commons had all the authoritie. Cæsar endeuouring to reuerse it, and turne it into royall, vsed no more but the fauour of the commons, whome he opposed against the Nobilitie. The estate of the Iewes was gouerned by Iudges, whom they, euen the Commons nominated: yet themselues to take from themselues that authoritie craued a king. Communalties do neuer looke further then to thinges present: They be men: If one gouernment oppresse them: If the authoritie present liketh them not, then straightway they abandon themselues to the first that list to change, as being content, onely prouided they may change: neuer considering whether the sequell of their change will be better then the euill that they haue put away.

Besides all this: neuer any of all the seditions of communalties in former ages were comparable with ours, neither vpon so great considerations to be imputed to the commons as this. For besides the two occasions which I haue before alledged to be common euery where els, there is in our estate a third, which onely hath produced all those bad effects that we haue seen, our affaires reencountring at such a point, that all the commons of the realme (but especialy of the townes) which do receiue of the monarchy no more but furniture to furnish and serue, had nothing but libertie in their heads, giuing their heartes to those that should furnish them of the speedyest & most easie meanes thereto. At that only word it was wonderfull to see how like vnto Gallyslaues, all the townes in France abandoned the owers of duty and obedience. And for my part, knowing the wicked nature of man, I could somewhat excuse their fury, were it guided with counsel, and that they took a right course to establish among them a good populer gouernment: but as they are alwaies deceiued, when in lieu of freeing themselues from the power of one sole Lord, they stoup to the bent of a thousand maisters: when in stead of one iust and lawfull king, I see that through their confusions they establish so many tyrantes in euery

corner

corner: hereat I hold my peace. and in saying nothing I aduow that God punisheth the follie, wickednes, and presumption of man. But this matter shall be better explained elsewhere: and thus much for our third estate.

Our Clergie also which are the great beames of the kings house, are not free from blame in this laste sedition. The occasion neuer grew of the kind of gouernment: for in truth as for the pettie preachers who are the meanest in the churches as for the begging friers & such as speake to the people and flatter them in their commotions: they are indeed in farre greater credit during the time of sedition, and so long as authority resteth in the hands of the Commons: but as for the great ones, the Cardinals, Byshops, Abbots, ritch Monasteries, Colledges, and orders of religious persons, their profit is greater, and they are alwaies more regarded vnder a king then vnder the gouernment of a common wealth. As also they may more easilie winne to their deuotion the conscience of one onely prince then of a whole Counsayle, or an entier commonaltie. Witnesse the common wealths of Italie and Germanie, and all other places where the Commons haue the vpper hand, where they are accustomed to cry out Fuora, fuora, Romagnuoli. But the matter that moued our Clergie to consent to the mutinies of the Commons: besides the supernaturall cause which I shal find in the Antipathie of light and darknesse, was a very feare of alteration and reformation: euen a bad and a shamefull feare, and such as they would not neuertheless so greatlye feare, in case it touched no more but their mouthe and doctrine and not rather theyr purse and kitchin.

The Nobilitie onelye throughout these troubles haue continued in their dutie as I haue aforesaid: who indeede especiallie are endamaged therin, as beeing inseparablie tied to the king and to the estate royall. And this is the reason why the Captaines of these late seditions, haue bin forced to alter all the tokens of the Monarchie, establishing popular Counsels in most places, whereto they haue of ne-

cessitie submitted themselues notwithstanding their degrée and calling. Howbeit in apparance to satisfie and hold in the small number of Nobilitie that was amonge them, they are driuen to vse these speeches Of the estate Royall or of the Crowne, otherwise it would neuer haue relished their affaires.

The same day that royaltie shall be extinguished in France, must Nobilitie also be stileled: for the commons that can find means to shake off the yoake of the soueraign of the whole countrie, will not be long in ridding awaie the pettie Lord of their village or towne: and once exempting themselues from millions due to their kings subsidy, they will soone set themselues free from two tyarts of toule due to their gentleman. The noble man honoured in France with high iustice ouer the pesant: with the title of wearing a sword: with the priuiledge of franchize from all duties due to his Soueraigne: except the societie of his owne person: whoe hath his calling separate from the marchant, the artificer, and the labourer, and who accounteth his owne estate farre aboue them, can neyther suffer them nor be suffered by them. neyther preserue al his prerogatiues vnder their Dominion: hereof witnesse the examples of Switzerland and the low Countries: the lowe countries, I say, where a great parte of their Nobilitie chose rather to beare the hatred and reproch of Treason, and in the end the cruelties and tyrannie of the Spanyard their prince, albeit a stranger, then the contempt and abasement of their calling, vnder the new gouernement of their commons.

Whereupon I will let escape this word. that in truth there was neuer King of France so well, so faithfullie, or so good cheape assisted by his Nobilitie as this is. But our Nobilitie must withall vnderstande that they are so bound to the estate of the King, that the same day that they shall set the crowne in peace vpon his head, the same daye shall they haue recouered their honour, libertie, franchises, rightes, preheminences, and all other commodities,

which

which with so many wounds, labours and hazardes their predecessours haue left them in our Realme: whereas contrariwise if the state should alter, they lose al: so that who so should counterpeize losse for losse, the kings losse would proue the least. Were there no more but his sole consideration vpon the carpet of his counsayle, a man might peraduenture light vpon some that could vse sophistry inough to counsayle him to giue ouer the gouernment of a Realm so full of hazards and labours, of a realme I say, which he cannot kepe aboue twentie or thirtie yeares, at the most (yet so should he be an old king) for the quiet, safetie and pleasures of an idle life: yea and should he so doe, he should not perhaps be greatly blamed in respect of himself: as also there be sundry examples which the posteritie doth both commend and admire: yet were hee to be reproued for consenting by his retire to the alteration of the estate, and for abandoning the quarrell of the nobilitie, which cannot be lost but in his losse, or preserued but in his preseruation.

The perils of our estate being such as I haue said, more or lesse tyed to the monarchie, it suffered about some thirty yeres since a strange qualme: namely the commotions for reformation of religion, together with a desire, which entred all the partes thereof, to bring the seruice of God (which was said after the ancient vse to be corrupted and defaced) into another order. Had none but the commons had interest therein, peraduenture matters had not proceeded so farre: for the communaltie of it selfe without a head could haue done little, and the Clergie either for shame, or perforce should haue been forced by the other two estates to abide the sword of Gods word: But immediatly the nobility was touched with this feuer, which being nourished with other more violent humors, wrought also farre other effects then it would haue done in the bodies of the simple people: And indeed vpon ỹ differents for religiõ, the mighty men found themselues opposite one to another, whereupon in lieu of hearkening vnto reasons and argu-

ments, euery man tried Alarme, and parlies, diets, & counsailes were changed into leuies of reistres, into an assemblye of souldiers, into pitcht fieldes, and thus both the deuill alwaies peruert a good intent into a bad issue. The house of Guize took part with the papists: the chiefest of ỳ Bourbons with the professors of reformed religion: some of these princes shot at the Crowne: others were of the same inuentell whereof they were made: Thus with a trice wée sée Gods cause transformed into a quarrell of estate. Hereupon were the kings perswaded that such as were of the bloud Royall, and maintained nouelties, were more to be feared then those that were further off, and defended auncient customes. This being not altogether vnlikely, was as soone beléeued, without consideration whether it were true or not. For few did consider that vnder this pretence, whether true or false, the Guisians took hold of the occasion to keepe themselues still in armes, becomming captaines of the one faction: yea and so well they guided their businesse, that their great credite brought their maisters into that ielousie, whereof in the end we haue séen the effects.

In this deuision did the inclination of our three estates euidently appeare. The Nobilitie openly fauoured the house of Lorraine against other Princes, albeit some of them were of the bloud of France, others not: yet onelye so long as they sée them follow and serue the kings. The Clergy damnified in matter of religion, affected them also: but much more secretly and more surely. The commons at the beginning had recourse to that which to their seeming was a nouelti (as ordinarily they doe) and as soone were as violent in reiecting the trueth, as at the beginning they were readie to embrace it, as hauing of themselues no other motion, but what the breath of the mightie ministred vnto them: but toward the latter times when the hypocrisie and subtletie of their preachers had earnestly kindled the fire in their braines, and that already sundry times they had in the Townes beene fleshed in bloud, spoile

and

and irreconciliable hatred against the professours of reformed religion, the late Duke of Guize, whoe was a great crafts-maister in leading of factions, doth among these seditious rumors secretly entermix a hope of libertie, discharge from subsidies, the name of common welth: adding also a hatred against the kings favourites. a complaint against such oppressions as by bad counsell and worse husbandrie had bene brought in, whereby it is incredible what credit he crept into among them.

This Lord whose vertues France hath as highly commended, as she hath since paid derlie for his vices, among other his qualities, had one most proper to his purposes, and that was a kind of facility, gentleneſſe, and popularitie, the inseparable companions of ambition. To the end to oversway the wightie of the realme, hee stooped to the inferiors: from one end of the strāt to an other he would go with cap in hand, saluting either with head, hande, or word euen the meaneſt. This togither with these other causes, and especially a contempt of the prince and hatred against such as possessed him grew to his so great aduantage, that it may be said that he only corrupted al our commons, and among the third estate created and wholely framed his faction. I will not heare rehearse his manner of proceeding for the space of twentie yeares, through the precepts of his father and his uncle. It would be very tedyous and therefore it shall suffice, that we come to the time wherein wee live, to shewe that the faction of the league whereof the Duke of Guize was chiefe in France, founde principall support in the townes and among the cōmons, according to the manner of euery enterprize of noueltie, which cannot be strong without the strength of the multitude. Howbeit in the end his mischiefs grew so far that himselfe was the firſt slaine, who had leysure enough to be the laſt that should set hand to the worke: which not withstanding, his death togither with the kings slowneſſe and appearance of weakeneſſe so slacked the bridle of the subiects, long before inueagled and corrupted, who also by the

ample of the Birracados at Paris had tried themselues to be of force sufficient to contemne their maisters strength, that in lieu of fetching forth the Fire by this violent remedie, the member being cut too low, transported the gangrene euen almost to the hart.

If euer there wer a mightie and furious commotion of Commons, this same was it: for in lesse then sir wéekes the best townes in the Realme, none excepted: were eyther lost or in very great hazard of loasing: neyther doo I thinke that euer any of the former ages hath sen the like. Howbeit the violence of this mischiefe began somewhat to slake, by the returne of such naturall heat as the royall power brought againe: our Clergie beganne to reclaime themselues, and our townes to repent: but the murther of our Prince was the last maister blowe that the Deuill stroke in France, as the same whereby the bondes of the Monarchy, the forme of the estate and the coniunction of the soule and the body of the realme was vtterlie dissolued among both cleargie and commonaltie, whereof there remayned in their respects only the carcase, carion, and first substance whereof it was first composed. Thus this braue building being in this manner ouerthrowne, wee can no longer discourse of an entyer Realme, but of the remnants and ruines of a scattered estate. For albeit the head which God hath since set on againe, be as good and sound as euer any was, yet the méebers had before bene so weakned with the poison of sedition, that of three pillers of the Realme, there remaineth at this day scarce any more then one that can be sayd to stand vpright, albeit euen that same hath also béene many times sore shaken.

Like as in the compasse of some great Amphitheater, there doo appeare in order and seuerall ranks, in one place the pillers of Marble, in another the Images of diuers emperours, in an other the arches, chapters and frizes, and in another the inscriptions, deuises, and whatsoeuer els may serue to the beautifieng of so stately a building: yet if peraduenture antiquitie, fire, or warres, doo once ouerthrow

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it, it will afterward be a tedious peece of worke to find out all those rich peeces from vnder a great heape of rubbishe: euen so during the life of the late king, the estate yet flowrishing, we might consider all these great princes, euerye one in his function and calling, in the entyer body of the Realme: when at this daye, the whole beeing reuearsed, well we may seeke among the ruines remayning, euen vnder the heape and masse of ciuill warres, but we shall finde nothing but disorder and confusion.

In his daies therefore not long before these later times, France was deuided into three factions. First his owne for as elsewhere I haue sayd, he suffred himselfe to bee so carried away, that of a king he was become cheefe of a faction Then the king of Nauarres, togither with those of the religion: Thirdly the Duke of Guizes with his leaguers. These three factions immediatlie with the change of theyr heads changed also their shape. This king by the decease of the late king, comming to the crowne, his faction togyther with those of the religion losse their name, as beeing intermingled with the great course of the Realme. Contrariwise that of the league by the losse of theyr good hed, incurred the diuers accidents whereof I will presently intreat, and therefore will I speake first of the same.

The Duke of Mayn with the heads of that faction beeing somewhat weakened with the great blow receiued at Bloys, and withall perceiuing by that violent and vnexpected alteration of affaires, that the death of the Duke of Guize had not onely not weakned them, but contrariwise had miraculouslye strengthened their affaires, receyued this fauour of fortune so insolently, which they could neuer haue thought to haue beene such, that afterward they bent all their endeuours at the full vsurpation of the estate and for any smaller matter then that, woulde they not vouchsafe to draw their swordes. What else coulde they haue done, seeing so many townes reuolted, such numbers of people offer themselues vnto them, so many helpes in their owne hands, yea all things smiling vpon them, and

The Duke de Maine

euerie matter to succæde as well as they could wish, and not so much as the disclosing of hidden treasures debarred their good fortune, as if destinie had expressly nourished thæues in France to hoord vp euen a storehouse of golde, and to reserue it to the daies of these mẽ: What person recouering from so strange a fall, and finding himselfe at once environed with so many prosperities, could haue continued in his perfect sence.

Wel there was among thẽ no further question of counsell: they had no more to do: they wanted nothing but the fetching of the king from Tours, where they were promised they should find him fettered both hand and foot. There was no further conquest to be made, all was wonne. All that was to do (as they thought) was howe to enioy the spoiles and vse the victorie. Neither was this in trueth vnlikely. This was their first error: for had they continued their good discretion in this great apparance of prosperity, and growne to any stedfast resolution, vndoubtedly in all humaine discourse, I suppose they had carried away the garland: but neither in this beginning, neither afterward when the successe of their warre semed more prosperous through the decease of the late king, could any man perceaue in them any true or assured purpose, or that they shot certainly at any thing. Well did it appeare that they sought to banish their maisters: that their wordes cast in the winde imported the vpholding of Cath. Religion: that they made a league whereinto they laboured to bring all the townes in France: that they had in their hands many meanes to scatter & subuert an estate: but what would be the issue of all this? in what sort purposed they afterward to gouerne France? whereto did their weapons tend, or what would be the end of their warre, no man coulde perceiue. Now all worldly affaires how mightie soeuer, if in their conduct they aime at no purpose, before they go farre, must needs perish, euen as a great boat that wanteth helme and rudder.

Well in this trouble they tooke that course which rage,

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not reason, ministred vnto them: I say rage be cause that if their driftes had bẽn grounded vpon iudgement, they might better haue husbanded the same. After therefore that they perceaued the commotion to be great enough throughout France, also that it was time to set some order, and to tun vp such of their wines as were sodden enough, they thought it the shortest course, to conuert the furie of those people against the person of their king, imagining according to great likelihood, that for the getting of the scepter, it was requisite first to take it out of his handes that held it: and indede they said true, had themselues bẽne able and wise enough, both to throw it downe, and being downe, to take it vp again: but to procure it to start out of the kinges handes through the endeuours and violence of the people, into his with whom it was to remain, their conclusion was but bad. Well then hauing procured a resolution in the capitall Cittie of the Realme, and so consequently in the rest, no longer to acknowledge the Prince, they procede in lawe against him: they iudge him: they pronounce him vncapable: they disgrade him, and in the end they murder him: but these procedinges requiring delaies, and lingering the space of eight or nine monthes, during the which, the people found a taste of swetnesse in disobedience: our townes being proud that they had shaken off the monarchie, and gotten libertie to do euill, would no more heare of receiuing any new maister. There was the Duke of Mayne againe deceiued, not remembring that while the sea is calme there appeare not any waue, or any small bubble higher then other: but being once troubled, we see one great billow which a dozen more do raise vp, euen to threaten the cloudes: which selfe same billow, whom the rest had so exalted, is immediatly by themselues constrained to fall and take a roume among the multitude. Oh timorous person. In the first furious fauour of the commons he bargained openly to leape at the helme and gouernment of the realme: but seeing howe high he was to climbe for the taking down of this crowne,

his countenance quailed. Afterwarde thinking to haue returned vnderhand, and by by-wayes, he found the ladder gone. Straitwaies they bearded him with a counsell of Commons: they limited his authoritie he had his controulers: These mad men albeit full of disorders, will neuertheleſſe ſee ſome order in their rages: not that they loue or delight in any, but to the end only to bridle his authoritie, who both for his calling and intereſt in the quarrell, begun to be the chiefeſt among them. And the mutinous who ſo manie yeares had only ſought ſome apparant occaſion to diſpoſſeſſe their trew Lorde, are not altogither void of ſuſpition and ielouſie againſt this new vſurper.

Againe the worſt was (as commonlie it happeneth that when the maiſter is awaie euery ſeruant will be maiſter) themſelues did one hinder another, and increaſing in ſuſpitions did by their ielouſies take away all meanes to vſe or well to conduct the rages of the commons: for indeede if in the beginning, after the decreaſe of the late kinge, they had agreed vpon the perſon of the Duke of Mayne, all in my opinion had beene at an end, neyther had he beene the firſt vſurper that with ſmaller helpes had become maiſter of a ſtate: but by and by there grew iarres betweene him and his coſin the Marquiſe du Pont: The Duke of Aumale found himſelfe alſo grieued; The Dutcheſſes of Nemors and Montpenſier ſet in foot alſo: the firſt for hir ſonne the Duke of Nemours, who began to grow into credite: the other for hir brother whoſe credit began to decay. Thus was there in their action nothing but confuſion. And in the end the Duke of Mayne, not ſo reſolute as was requiſite in ſo hardie an attempt, neither aduenterous enough for ſuch an enterpriſe, did cowardly abandon the name, and hope to be a King, to the end to reduce himſelfe to the title of a Lieutenant to the Crowne: abandon it I ſay, becauſe the time came ſoone after, that forаſmuch as ſome of his fauorites had made ſome motion therof, the ſermons were conuerted into ordinarie paſquils of their follies bookes were printed of them, & none durſt once open his mouth againſt

gainst them. For the casting therefore of this bell, whereas when the kingdome was whole, euen when I writ vnto thee my Iustus, the late Duke of Guize was absolute chiefe of the league: one of the three of the realme which in trueth was built especially vppon the third estate: at this day things are quite altered. For after the death of hym, and the late king, the whole estate being reuersed, and as a man shuld say, reduced into the first substance, the townes are gotten on foote, some receauing, yea euen swallowing downe all those litle heads remaining of the house of Lorraine, and others the Lordes of France their confederates, too mightie to brooke common-wealthes, and too meane to make kingdomes. Euen they who had their deuises apart, began to grow into ielouzie, and since haue found meanes quietly to seaze vppon all the authoritie, not vouchsafing that any whosoeuer should either keepe, command or compell them to anie thing but what they pleased. And this is at one word, the state of the faction of the league at this day: altogither disposed to commenwealthes, wherein the nobilitie is of no credite, neither the clergy, except such as may serue to stirre vp the commons to commotion. And indeede there is almost neuer a towne of their faction, but hath either expelled or imprisoned her bishop, abbot, or principall prelate.

This no doubt hath extreamely vexed the house of Lorraine, whoe are Princes brought vp and increased by the monarchie, and so accustomed to command in soueraignty, that this is nowe grieuous vnto them, that neither hoping nor hunting after anie more, as weening that they had conquered and gotten all, they should now neuertheless be compelled to court the burgesses of euerie towne, yea for the most part euen the meanest and most wicked: for such are the men that in time of sedition do beare all the sway. Wel, to this passe are they brought, notwithstanding the Duke of Mayne hath all his life time bene knowne as much to disdaine those seruile submissions, as his brother to vse them.

I thinke that now the poore Prince well perceiueth that all the labours of the late Duke of Guize and his pertakers, his death, togither with the perils that himselfe hath enured, haue now serued to no other vse but to create commonwealthes in France: to arme the commons, and to alter the order of gouernment, without any great furtherance of their hope to establish the scepter in their famely. Whereupon I shalbe forced to tell him this parable: that there is nothing so easie as to open a ditch, or the sclusc of a great poole, because the violence of the water doth helpe: but being once opened, it is hard to guide such a streame aright, either to stop it when a man list, vnlesse at the beginning hauing well considered of it, there be some good order taken to rule the violence therof.

Well Iustus, if now thou longest to see the portraiture of confusion and disorder: thou must find it most liuely painted in that faction. To beginne, the Duke of Mayne tearmeth himselfe Lieuetenant generall of the estate royall and crowne of France. Behold here a braue chimere. Is there a Lieuetenant where there is no head? and who is this head but the king? and king the strongest of their faction will none. Of the estate: I haue heretofore heard speaking of the Estates of France, but of the estate, neuer, vnlesse some man haue chanced to say the king and hys estate.

In that case state was set downe to obey, not to command, yet those folkes do place it at the head. Then again most of theyr gouernours do entitle themselues, The kings Lieuetenants and knightes of his orders. Of what king? O ye mad men: Is it of him whome ye haue slaine, of hym whome ye deny, or of him that is not yet borne in France? likewise in consequence hereof, so many of them as heretofore haue been the kinges officers, as the officers of the seale: the parliamentes: the checker chambers: the Iudges: the treasurers: and all other the seruants of the monarchie, will not loose their degrees: neither come behind the creatures of the commons, and yet cannot find meanes

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to maintaine their functions: nay they knowe not at this day how to pronounce. They dare not ſay By the King, They will not ſay By the Commons, much leſſe By the Duke of Mayne, for by the lawes of the land they can acknowledge none but him that commandeth abſolutely.

Thus haue they bene as much troubled to know howe to ſpeake, as to ſee alſo what to doo: ſo beaute is their confuſion vpon them. Herevpon what a number of diuerſities of commandements? how manie diſobediences? what a trouble to find any forme of iuſtice among them? O miſerable man, that haſt had the guiding of this ſhip? Thou haſt not alwaies ſlept at eaſe. Euen thus dooth it fall out with him, who finding a caſt of counters well laide according to their value vpon a table, and with his hand mixeth them togither: for well may he turne them, laye them againe, place and diſplace them a thouſand waies, yet ſhall he neuer find the ſame account vntill that beginning again he laieth them in order as before.

The firſt piller royall that this new Democratie vndermined, was the piller of iuſtice: for ſone after, to the end to aboliſh all the authorities of the parliaments, they created in euery towne a counſayle of certaine baſe perſons, into whoſe hands they committed all authoritie. All the reſt imitated the example of Paris the capitall Citty, wherevpon did appeare in euery towne a Common wealth. Euerie towne contributed at pleaſure but what they liſte, and furniſhed toward the Common expenſes that grewe in their affaires euen what pleaſed them. Neither would they receiue either garriſon or gouernour but vppon ſuche conditions as beſt liked themſelues. Likewiſe if anie gentleman came among them, how Lorraniſh ſoeuer, and ſhould chance to caſt forth any croſſe word euen to the meaneſt inhabitant, he had bene better to haue bene at Strasbrough or Bearne.

But now muſt I needes walke three ſteppes out of the way, to ſhewe by reaſon to theſe fooliſh townes, (at the leaſt if they be capable to learne) that in their deſire to become

common wealths they vsed as small conduct and order as did their generall to attayne the kingedome, that so they may euen palpablie perceiue that neuer wise hed intruded to giue them counsell: likewise that it is not in their power to attaine thereto, either to continue long as they are. Such our great townes with their inhabitants, as are of opinion to become common wealths ought necessarilie so to be composed that they may of themselues be of force sufficient not only quite to blot out all tokens of Monarchie, but also to subdue to their obedience and magistracie, the whole champion round about.

In this champion besides the nobilitie there inhabiting, who must be accustomed to beare the commandements of maister Mayor, there be also smaller townes, villages and great boroughes inclosed or inhabited by great numbers of people, as France is great. All this people without constraynt, albeit after the examples of their Metropolitanes and vnder them, they haue expelled their Prince, will no whit the sooner or more voluntarilie receiue them to bee their mistresses, no more then they vouchsaked to receiue the Duke of Mayne for their king, with whome notwithstanding they freed themselues from the Dominion royall. But if contrariwise they be suffred to runne on the broade high waie, the same example of the great townes, will bring the small boroughes to the like course of common wealth: and thus from one degree to an other, there will be neuer a village in France but will become a Soueraign estate. Now whither this be possible, I leaue to the iudgment of others: yet is the proposition at this day to be seene in Germanie, Switzerland, and the Low Countries, wher euery polting village is free and hath her Borough mayors, officers, and soueraigne iudges seuerall to hir selfe. Yet is not this all: for after the Capitall Townes of the Prouinces haue expelled their K. slaine all their Nobilitie, conquered euery one their resort and bailiwick, yet I say after all this, must they among themselues grow vnto some forme of gouernement, and find out some bond of Iu-

stice to hold them togither. In euery Prouince they were wont to haue a Parliament, now those dayes be done.

Orleans will no longer stand at the reuersion of Paris, vpon what reason should she, who hath refused to be gouerned by hir king and Lord, submit hir selfe to the counsell of sixténe, or to the prouost of marchantes? Can she not grow to soueraignty as well as the other? Also Roan, Lions, Burges, Tholouze, Troye, Dion, and many moze? Well, let vs proceed. Prouinces against Prouinces: Gouernours against Gouernors: how shall they be brought to liue one with another in vnion? If any iustice be to bee administred betweéne two, who shall be superior lords? Herein truely we see long delaies, great dangers by the way, & so many incumbrances, that except it be as theeues at a faire I doubt they neuer will agrée but vpon mischefe, for there can no gwdnesse be founde in so great confusion. Herin consisteth a true token that mans nature is naught and wicked: for the moze good there is togither the better it is: and the moze euill the wozse. A thousand men are not wozth one only: not that in one only there is moze gwdnesse and discretion then in a thousand, but because there is lesse wickednesse and folly.

O ye people, If some one of you chance to read this proposition, he will presentlie cry out that it is but a slaunder imposed vpon you to set deuision and breake your holye vnion: that indéed ye haue slaine a king: ye haue denied obedience to this man: ye haue in euery towne created your seuerall counsails: ye haue ouerthrowne the authoritie of the parliaments: altred the officers of the monarchy: and among your selues established whatsoeuer is requisite to a popular estate: yet that all this notwithstanding, you neuer meant to become Common-wealths men, or vtterlie to reiect a king and his Nobilitie.

Well, if this then be not your meanings, what will ye then doe? tell vs I pray you. If in the most apparant ends of your purposes there be neither reason nor likelihood, how shall we otherwise gesse at your intentes? If you alledge

zeale to the Catholicke Religion, it is an inconsiderate zeale: If you haue red Iosephus in his description of the furies of the Iewes, whom ye do so well imitate, you shall finde that the mutinous of Ierusalem bare the same title: yet were this zeale somewhat excusable, had it not begun vntill now vnder a Huguenot king. What argument can you alledge against the last, the moste archmonkish, the most superlative Catholicke (pardon me, that I must so say: for it cannot be but in fretting against your treachery, some bad word will escape) the sorest animated against those of the religion that euer was: ye haue no reply here. Confesse then, that if ye purpose no commonwealth in your foolish frenzy, ye haue none at all: and if you haue none, then for my part I must say that your rage hath led you to a downfall (for so do I terme your doinges) wherefro you cannot retire, vnlesse ye suddenly turne backe againe: For to stay where you are, you cannot: to marche forward, there is no way: so as of necessitie you must either perish or obey.

The order of a kingdom in France is so ancient, and the parts therof are so enterlaced, and with such a mutual connexion that I confesse that wel it may be dismembred: vsurped: that the king of Spaine may catch one prouince: the Duke of Sauoy an other: the Duke of Lorraine a third, and so the nexest or the boldest neighbour the like: Finally that well ye may change your Lord for a thiefe, and your king for a tyrant: but that you can liue in such disorders, without faith, law, king or maister, after your owne appetites, or as may best like the mutinous and moste furious among you, it cannot be, neyther may you long so continue.

For proofe heereof, euen as it falleth out with women that complaine, or are at strife with their husbandes: so was it with you: so soone as your neighbors perceiued that you had separated your selues from your king, doubting that ye could not go farre without stumbling, they began presently to cocker you: to send you first their lamentati-

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ons for your miserie, then their consolations with honest offers and presents: yea themselues came diuers waies to visit you. Through Brittaine, through Languedock, through Picardie, to see whether wrath might not intice you to harken to new loue. Well, thankes be to God at the first ye escaped well inough: ye returned them without any thing of yours: without any gaine at your handes, except some small fauour in Brittaine, and some kisse in Picardie. They were content, the fornicators, to see that at ỹ first ye did not vtterly denie thē: that ye refused them not to speake, but gaue them the hearing: But feare not: that old courtisan of Castile is too crafty to be so easily said nay: Long since hath he heard this saying. Through faithfull seruice and loyall perseuerence, of seruants men become
" maisters. But you shall see what accompt and estimation he will make of you, after he hath once glutted his ambitious fantasie with the expence of your libertie. He will proue more suspitious than your good husbandes: If he once get you shut vp, he will keepe you vnder locke and key after the Spanish and Italian maner, and debarre you from playing him so sluttish a tricke as ye haue done them. If you will not beleeue me, aske the Parisians how they like of the Spaniards, whom they haue receiued into garrison among them. Such is at this day, if wee consider it in grosse, the fashion of the league. This monster being formed of manie members, which for want of good proportion in the beginning haue nowe made it so terrible, it is no maruell that we haue found it to haue many heades, as a mightie serpent engendred of the corruption of the earth, and but few legges, few armes, and those but small and weake in respect of so great a masse. It were good therefore to anatomize euerie of them apart.

Alreadie haue I spoken much of the Duke of Mayne. After his brothers death he found himselfe as well for his calling, as in respect of such offices as he had borne, together with his reputation & valor, the chiefest among those people. But what is it to be chiefe in place where there is

no order. This Prince of all the three brethren was hee, who by nature was most rude, and plaine, of least dissymulation, and not so capeable of foolish ambition. An assured token hereof was, that being at the Courte in the daies of the late king, he could not possiblie bee forced in his actions to practise the seruile patience of his late brother. His purposes were alwaies better limited, shewing a mannes mind that could measure himselfe. In his house he was neither an extraordinarie spender, neyther yet nigardly: he was neuer indebted, which is one of the tokens of a dangerous man, subiect to couet too much: his brother could wel haue told what to haue said, so that who so had craued sundry mens opinions cõcerning his humor, they could neuer haue imagined him to haue bene resolute or obstinate in this great enterprise.

I am not certaine, but I haue heard, that after the death of the late Duke of Guize, it lay in the King to haue reclaimed him, yea that he might euen offer himselfe: but beleeuing that at Lyons there was a practize against his life, and withall perceiuing the violent fauour of the people in his behalfe, togither with the good successe that God permitted to their first furie, he was carried away with these apparances. And few men could vndoubtedlie haue forborne.

Well, I haue already declared how in the beginning he let slip the occasion to raigne; and now to say that he neuer thought it or desired it, I take him to be too stout: neither could he haue enterprized the displacing of a king vpon any smaller occasion then to keepe into his place. Yet was hee thereof put by the people, yea by his owne kindred, who as I haue shewed, would permit vnto him only the first degree of honour in liew of absolute commandement, wherefore being contraried with so manie pollicies, hee finallye yeelded. Hereupon in the course of his warre he incurred many disgraces, he lost some townes, he suffred the opinion conceiued of him, that he was a vigilant and diligent Captayne, greatly to diminish. And indeede being to deale

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against this thunderbolt, which can take no rest either conquered or conquering, he was otherwise to haue indeuowred himselfe: also in the end he loseth a great and notable battayle: and all people commonlie do iudge of things by their accidents and vpon one only ouersight doo dislike him whom also vpon one sole felicitie they had before in admyration.

At the last seeing himselfe at this state: finding his reputation as much diminished, as his hope of a scepter was slipped his hands: perceiuing also that he no longer commanded ouer the people but to haues: that he had soaked away their treasures, whereof either himselfe by particular sparing, or his seruants vnder him by extream expense or theft had made incredible prodigalitie: and withall considering that he could recouer no more of them but by force and with the hazard of a mutiny against himselfe, hee was driuen to take other counsayle, as else-where I will shew you.

I beleeue he could wish that all were to beginne, and many are of opinion, that had he at the first had to do with the king that now raigneth, he would neuer haue growne into so deepe despaire, but would haue taken some easyer course to glut his reuenge, without the hazzard of all the bloud of France. But now that he is so deepe in, he obstinately defendeth his resolution: he doth no longer walk but euen casteth himselfe hedlong without consideration of himselfe or his, of his mother, his wife, his children and of all his friends whom hee entangleth in his ruine, yea and that vnprofitablie, since himselfe is out of hope of his greatnesse.

If then the chiefest of this familie, the arch-prop of their wall, the most famous and of great authoritie amongest them could not keepe in his hands the whole realme; there is small likelihoode for the rest hereafter hope, that out of their ashes they should euer make a king of France. I look vpon the D. of Nemours & his brethren, the children of the Duke of Guize, the Dukes of Aumale and Mercur, I see

the Lords of Ioyeuse, Chastree, and others. These are all the valiant men of that faction: Among them all I see not one fit to be king: and yet see the pittie: each of them doe shoot at it for himselfe. Euery of them is strong enough to scatter, separate, and to keepe some corners of the realme in disobedience: yet all of them together are not able to establish one good gouernour. Not one of them is of authoritie sufficient to command: yet is euery of them to strong and wilfull to obey: and therefore of necessitie they must take better counsell, or els they all must sell the realme to a greater maister, to whome they must deliuer it: or the state royall being changed into a commonwealth, euery of them, as his turne commeth, must be content to be Mayor of the towne where he shall inhabite: or finally dismembring the realme, eche of them must carrie away his peece, as did the pettie princes of Italy heretofore deale with the Romaine empire.

These of the French are the men that are become famous, by being the captaines of this miserable deuision. Now are there also among the straungers foure mightie heades sore bent against vs, who greatly do enuie the prosperitie of our king. The Pope, the king of Spaine: The Dukes of Sauoy, and of Lorrain. Reading this, my Iustus, remember also what I wrote to thee before, and then ioyne the daies wherein we nowe liue with the time of the last king.

The Popes contrary to their nature and custome, haue these sixe or seuen yeres shewed more fauour to Spaine then to France. The cause being, that in the last kinges daies they feared the succession of this, whom they accompted their enemie: Indeede they had some reason, considering what iniury they did to this mans great grandfather, whome they robbed of a good part of his realme which wrongfully they adiudged to the king of Spaine. Besides they feared if he should get the garland, he would one daie call them to accompt, and force them to reformation both in person and doctrine. Neither was this feare vtterly vn-

The Pope.

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likely, in that they were yet vncertaine of his maner of gouernment: but after that Sixtus, who at the beginning had so shotte forth his thunderboltes against him, did perceiue on the one side the king of Spaines ambition alwaies dangerous for Italie: and on the other this mans quiet proceedinges: also that it were daungerous without cause to prouoke or incense him; he began toward his end to ware more milde, and to heare some reason: but indeed he continued not long after: neither wotte I whether this man now Pope, will follow his example. But if I may lawfully speake, I thinke in trueth that God hath hardened their heartes expressely, to the end that he and his clergie being by so manie testimonies proued irreconciliable enemies to this crowne, our king may luckily feele and take notice of the smart thereof, and so free his estate from their insupportable dominion. And this in my opinion should not be the least part of reformation, whereunto also by turning ouer the ancient registers, I could shew that sundrie our kings, together with the French Church haue giuen their consent. Let the Pope thinke vpon it: for had I spoken more, he would still haue his excuse readie: yet could I wish, if it were Gods wil, that we had but that enemy.

As for the king of Spaine we haue long enough perceiued his subtle practises and deuises agaynst our state. First it is one Principle in all estates, if they may to maintaine their neighbours in deuision and trouble. And there is a certaine rule in the Mathematiques, that whatsoeuer maketh another to moue, must of necessitie be it self in quiet. Againe, a neighbour deuided, and so consequently weakened is the lesse to be feared: Finally when two men haue fought & well wounded eche other, the third, who gaue the looking on, may soone spoyle them both. The king of Spaine taking good counsaile, was no whit sorie to see the fire among vs: for while wee were busie about fetching of water, wee had no leisure to returne the firebrand against him. For that was the thing he alwaies feared: Namely, lest notwithstanding all brotherhood, these

The King of Spaine.

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yoong kings being valiant enough, shoulde in their firste heat for want of other worke set vpon him. Vpon this consideration hath he alwaies held vp our rebels by the chins, limiting thereto a portion of his Indian gold, of much greter danger to vs then his Spanish iron. Besides being once heretofore molested by Monsieur and the French in his territories of Flaunders, he hath bene desirous of Ciuyll warres in France, rather for the conseruation of his owne: then for any vsurpation of ours. Howbeit in the end, seeing all the children of France deceased one after another, and thereby the king now liuing atteined to the highest degree of the crowne, fearing vndoubtedlie his power and being greatly intangled with him about olde quarrels, he resolued to turne all his endeuours, all his gold and all his iron against him, with a double deuice: first to enioye the realme if he may, next at the least either to ouerthrow the king now raigning and so dismember the state, or else to transfer it into some other hand.

Herein lieth a great mysterie, for as the diuell is euermore a spirit of deuision, so this monarch his chiefest factor and agent in the estate of the league, hath forced as many repugnances in his first desire as may bee. And wot yee how? After the decease of the late king, the house of Lorrayne imagined the realme to be wholie theirs. Now if we must needes describe what helpes they had. First for the commoditie of their warre they founde whole Mountaines of gold in Paris. It is a great matter that the Accounts of one yeres expenses should amount to seuentene hundred thousand crownes. As for the fauour of the commons, the whole Realme in manner made a second reuolt at the comming of this new king, whoe from the first day remained alone, so that had any man in those daies spoken I will not say of calling in the king of Spayne to bee their king, but euen of committing to his hands the least village of France, they would haue bin angrie: and I dow beleeue that without difficultie, had the conflict at Argues had good successe, the Duke of Mayne had alone carried awaye the

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Cy King of Spaine.

crowne, sauing so much as afterward he should haue shared with his hunting companions. This knewe the olde man well enough: he sée well enough that these men were to proud for him to aske any share among them, and therefore that it were good to let them runne into necessity and hunger, as faulconers doo vse their Hawkes, who otherwise would not stoope to the lure.

Thus at the beginning he thought it enough to leaue among them Mendoza, still to continue good intelligence with them, as beeing well assured that these good Husbands would not tarry long without prouision of saffron, and that they woulde talke. On the other side, the others while their good daies lasted and that they had somewhat to take to, neuer troubled themselues greatly with courting the king of Spayne: but afterward, fortune turning her whéele, they grew more supple, whiles he for his part conceiued an apprehension of the prosperities of our king, his particular enemie: so that they beganne on both sydes better to concurre, the Guizians who already were out of expectation of transferring the crowne into their familye, consenting that Pope Sixtus then raigning, shoulde sende into France a Legat of the Spanish faction, by whome hee propounded some entrie to the French, to drawe them to receiue a new king.

And this will I say by the way, that al these people, hauing each a seuerall intent and deuise, were also constrayned to set sundry faces vpon their actions according to the parties whom they were to deale withall: for certainelie the Legats comming into France was neuer deuised but for the aduancement of the king Spaines affaires; and yet did they at the same time perswade our poore frantike townes, that all was for the good of the realme, and to the end that he by his aucthoritie should withdraw the Catholikes from about the King. On the one syde necessitie continueth, and contrariwise on the other syde prosperity doth appeare. The kinge of Spayne is glad quietlie to sée this people come to his almes, whereuppon he offereth them

godly matters, wherewith he furnisht them a litle, and that little but slowly for glutting: so that seing how his water dropped vpon them, a man might well iudge that he meant rather to increase then any way to quench their thirst. They on the other side, hungry after his succour, doe make their pouerties a thousand times greater: they threaten him vnder hand with reconciliation: they protest that in case he giue them ouer, they will not so cast themselues away. This pollicie taketh place: the old deceauer feareth least he should see the king established, and they knowing the same, do purposely procure rumours therof: they cause packets to be intercepted: they giue sundrie allarmes to Mendoza, and the commander Moree. Finally for a time, it was a pleasure to marke their countenances: hey to wrest money and other commodities from his handes for nothing: he to giue them nothing but vpon good gage. Their entent was to haue succour of the king of Spayne, and yet no otherwise to recompence his expences, but with the trouble and deuision of France, whereof he receiued fruit sufficient (said they) thereby auoiding the greatnesse and establishment of his capital enemy: but his deuice had a further reach: For he not content with the destruction of our king, laboureth about the conquest of the realme, wherto he shal hardly attaine, before he hath vnhorsed and ouerthrowne all these Lorraine Princes, together with all others that haue any share therein: who as himselfe well perceiueth, are now loth to haue laboured & sowed so long, and to let him reape the whole haruest. In the meane time the kinges affaires doe prosper in Normandie. Herevpon haue the leaguers a good argument to exclaime, and the good man is forced thereupon to furnish them of mony, and to send them the County Ægmont aswell to authorize his affairs among them, and to weaken theirs, as earnestly to succour them against the king, whose prosperitie, as I haue said, he doth extreamely feare. All this notwithstanding, yet speake they not all to his minde: all their orations are but gay thankes, goodly remonstrances concerning

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ing a zeale to Catholicke religion, wherewith, ſaid they, he ought to be touched, and in conſideration thereof, freely to aſſiſt them, as to a moſt catholike king appertaineth. This was not inough for him: neither ſpake they ſo much in ſport.

Hereupon followeth the battaile at Yurye, where the Spaniſh forces together with the power of the league were ouerthrown. This brought theſe French Captains out of all likelihood, abilitie and hope euer to be able alone to defend themſelues, ſo that then they were forced to depend wholly vpon the king of Spaines courteſie, vppon whatſoeuer conditions he would or they could: He for his part by this battell loſt not ſo much through his troupes there defeated, as he gotte by ſeing the French his partakers brought to ſuch neceſſitie as to offer him the blanck papers And in truth I think that had he then bin at Bruxels, as he was at Eſcurial, and ỹ with ſpeed he might haue bin aduertiſed of their eſtate, and haue anſwered them as ſpedily againe, hee woulde haue entred great capitulations with them: but before the poſtes could runne ſo farre and come againe, there grew ſome change in the townes, who recouered of this firſt feare, did well thinke that there was ſome quieter courſe to preſerue themſelues, then by ſelling themſelues to their ancient enemy.

The daunger ſtill augmenteth: behold the king ſeazeth vpon the riuer of Seyne both aboue and beneath and appeareth before Paris. Then is the Duke of Mayne driuen to trauell euen into Flanders, where he leaueth nothing vngranted: whatſoeuer is demanded he offereth: but in the ſackes bottome there appeareth ſo ſmall abilitie, that whatſoeuer he offereth is but nothing: And there ſhewed he that he had badly gouerned, as I haue ſaid before, that he had let all the power of his faction fall into the handes of the communaltie and great townes, of whome he was not of authoritie ſufficient to diſpoſe. They in the meane tyme lay liſtening at the euent of the great ſiedge, and chooſe rather patientlie to abide and ſe the end, that according to the

enterteinment of the Parisians, they might thinke of their owne affayres, then in the meane time vpon an vncertentie to lose themselues, or headlong to cast themselues into the king of Spaines handes This caused him at his comming to the Duke of Parmaes feste at Bruxels to receiue such enterteinment as neyther beseemed his calling, neyther was worthye the maiestie of the realme: as that the lieutenant general of the whole estate and crown of Frãce, should shamefullie court him who in title was no other but his maisters lieutenant ouer one onely Prouince. He that entreth into a princes house, how free soeuer he be at his comming, returneth a seruant sayde Pompey vnto his friends, when after the losse of the battell of Pharsale hee went to aske succour of Ptolomie. The conquered whoe with emptie hands come to craue of other Princes theyr neighbours, are subiect to such casualties. Well maist thou curse thy selfe, thou Prince, who vnder the king thy maister haddest so goodly offices, that now thou hast beene so wretched as to procure such a dishonor to this great realm, to the memory of thy predecessors, and to thy owne person. Without passion am I compelled to obiect vnto thee this honourable reproch.

Neuertheless all his submisse prayers, all his coniurations, all his profers had beene in vaine, had not the meere interest of the old Tyrant of Castile beene inserted among. For the king in the meane time without intermission so presseth Paris, that it is at the point to be lost, & in the losse thereof, without difficultie it subuerted the whole faction of the league. This wakeneth him, the continual feare of the prosperitie of this thunderbolt of warr tormenteth him more then the imaginarie respects of Religion, or the true considerations of the danger of his partakers could haue moued him. He plainelie seth that the conquest of this towne would conquer the estate: and long hath hee noted that the fire once quenched with vs, hee must receiue the flame; yet as a good husband, with his owne interest hee omitteth not to vse the seruice of the poore Parisians feare,

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and expressely to forbid his lieutenant not to set forwarde vntill their extreame necessitie and that he had first wrested from them al the assurances and submissions that possible he could. This is his good zeale: and indeede there is no doubt but in this terrour, they woulde graunt to him his whole desires, where without certainly the other would neuer haue set forward.

If any man do nowe obiect this vnto them, they stout and stiffely do denie it, yet can they not saye but in those times there were intercepted some packets wherein the king of Spayne wrote to Mendoza these wordes. I haue commanded the Duke of Parma to come succour my towne of Paris. These were the tearmes that hee euen then vsed: and that this was so, no sooner was the sledge raised and the danger passed, but they began to scorne the saint. And I haue heard it certainely auowed that Mendoza once shewed a writing with certaine articles wherto they had condiscended, importing very strange clauses. Namely to acknowledge the Spanish king for their king: to receiue of him a gouernour: to deliuer certaine places where to builde Citadels: with many other seruile conditions which the king, whose father they had slaine, & who held the sword to their throates, would neuer haue required. Yet this doo I not affirme to be true, albeit I learned it of one of their faction, one whom we account (except for this blemish) a man of honour: neither can I thinke that the whole towne would consent to such publike infamie: but howsoeuer it be, it was one of the Duke of Parma complaints at his return and one of the reasons wherupon he would not enter into Paris: which neuertheless he would neuer publish for feare least the rest of our townes should perceiue his maisters charitie, or knowe with what purposes and conditions he meant hereafter to succour France.

Well, the Duke of Parma partlie vpon his own hope, and partlie for feare of his mayster, marcheth towarde the succour of Paris, and that with so good hope through our

negligence, that in the face of the greatest captain in Christendome, and the braue'st nobilitie in the world, he freely it without the losse of any one man: he wresteth it out of our handes and forceth vs to raise the siedge: yea we had vndoubtedly done it as shamefully as he braged vs bravely, had not he onely, whose interest therein was more then al the rest, shewed alone more force and courage in that misfortune then the rest of his whole armie: and so may I truly say: for he saued the honour of our retraict, by his often turning backe and attending the ennemy sometimes two daies in a place, and beating and forcing to wns in hys view: our onely consolation in this disgrace, which surely God had turned to our more disadvantage, had he measured his punishmentes by the faultes and offences wherewith this great army was wretchedly polluted during this siedge. But there is no remedie, I cannot force my penne, I must herein let a trueth escape me. I cannot denie but the king is more beholding to his nobilitie then euer was any Prince: first for that they at their owne charges in the middest of so many discommodities, losses and labours, doe follow and help him to recouer his estate, then that during the corruption of the two other estates, they hold to hym wonderfull fidelitie: yet must I needes auouch that our impatiencie, our delicacie, our French and wanton humour procured vs before Paris to receaue a great and notable disgrace. What? shuld such wretched weaklings deuoyd of all honour or valour: such porters, artificers and women continue sixe months beseiged: be brought to extreame necessitie: euen to the examples of horrible famine, and neuer open their mouthes to complaine: neuer cast forth woefull cryes: neuer make anie semblance of feare or yealding: and should so many notable gentlemen, so many honourable personages stand in feare of hunger. euen the fourth day after they were encamped at Chelles in the face of the Spaniard? O ye French nation, your fathers would haue carried their armes a whole yeare in a towell: they would haue vowed abstinence all the daies of their

liues, to haue obtained the honour of so faire a day: and you for a litle want (I had rather terme it so then worse) were not ashamed to haue as it were sould your reputation to this Marrane? to let slip the opportunitie of reuenging vpon him the battailes of Graueling and S. Quintins: so many treasons, ciuill warres and practises, and so manie calamities as he hath caused throughout our realm? O ye French men, ye haue let slip out of your handes the crown of your king, his eminencie, his peace and yours, which you might haue purchased with one daies labour, whereas nowe before ye come to the like opportunitie, you may perhappes trauell al the daies of your lifes: but hereof enough. We shall (if it please God) shortly find meanes to recouer this ouersight, and we must do better another time.

Paris thus set free, the Duke of Parma setleth himselfe: he saith that his commandement stretcheth no further: that he sheweth to the Parisians more liberty then is graunted them: vnder hand he telleth them that if they will haue any more, they must purchase it with the penie: and at that time were there some speeches of those offers and proffers made to Mendoza in their time of danger: but they excused themselues mekely vpon this title For feare, and vpon this law, The perill once passed, so that then this good sir wel perceiued that who so taketh not a woman, and a communalty at their word, must take another day: he vrgeth them, but in vaine: they returne him faire wordes: they tel him that it is to small purpose onely to raise an army from before them, vnlesse he also force those holdes that keepeth their's shut vp: that after his departure they shalbe as bad as before: let him then vndertake this matter and afterward they wil talk of their promises. This was the townes oration. Heere vpon he challengeth the Duke of Mayne, and those that had parlied with him: he summoneth them to shew some effect of their promises, and to yeld to hys maister some fruit of his great labour and charges: otherwise himselfe will retire: but they no longer able to dissemble their weakenesse, doe manifestly giue him to vn-

derstand thereof: but withall they shew him that if he doo so depart, and that the Commons and townes of France do find so small profit in his assistance, they will not another time in hope thereof be abused, neyther will there be anie waie to keepe them vpon the first necessitie from yelding. This was the great string that they harped vpon so often as they lifted to get any thing at the king of Spayns hands, which he also better vnderstood then the Duke of Parma his lieutenant, who worketh not vpon the like consideration, but hath other deuices, yet doth this greatly trouble him. He seeth well enough that this people do mocke him, and that the more they are deliuered out of daunger, the lesse they will do: yet dooth hee feare that his retire will driue them into despaire, and so being wearie of the warre to capitulate with their mayster which is his laste doubt. Thus halfe conuerted, he marcheth on forward, and goeth to the siedge of Corbeil, as well vpon hope that at the first sight of him, they will yeld vnto him both the vpper and lower side of the riuer, as it were to trie whether by taking these places, Paris would be as good as her worde: but finding by the euent that as well in the one as in the other he was deceiued, hee fullie resolued to retire, and as suddenlie put it in execution: neyther slept he one sounde wink before he came safe to Bruxels, giuing his partakers councell in the meane time to make vs some motion of peace or truce, so to frustrate the effects of our armies for all the nert winter: wherein truely the actors purchased no great honour, as vsing in an action so necessarie for all France, so smal truth and affection: but this requireth a seuerall discourse.

I haue thought it good expressedie to note at length all the kings of Spaine proceeding in the French affayres, to the ende that suche as are to passe by his lands maye well iudge of his intents: now will I end with this principle, that albeit there be great matter betweene him and our K. and that he greatlie feareth his aduancement, yet will hee neuer so openly intrude himselfe into matter of this estate,

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eyther conuert his expenses and purposes thereto, excepte he see some euident commoditie, and first set foot vppon the necks of all the partakers of the League, togither with all the capitall townes of France. Neyther doo I conclude that contrariwise vnlesse he can atchieue his purpose, hee will quite giue them ouer: or that he will not still furnish them with some-what wherewith after a sort to resist, so to keepe them from looking to themselues or calling theyr wits togither: but that all other businesse laid aparte, hee will imploy the tresure of his Indias to conquer the realm for the Duke of Mayne, or any other: eyther to authorize the Common-wealthes of France, his counsell will neuer aduise him thereto. This is one of the errors that they which haue to doo with this Monarch, doe not in his succour: but otherwise he is so olde, so farre worne, and so neere to his ende, that such as doo depend vppon him, are but in small assurance; and after his decease his estates, as well as ours, doo beare so many tokens of deuision, that they shall haue enough to doo among themselues, though they neuer come heere to warre against vs.

Now there remaine yet the Dukes of Lorrain and Sauoy. They, to be short, doo resemble the whelps that patientlie doo waite vntill the great dogge haue dined, catching at some small morsels vnder his bellie that he seeth not. For albeit their titles to the vsurpation of France be as many as the king of Spaines, yet dare they not make any semblant against him: but were he dead there woulde be some sport among them, as well on this side the mounts as beyond, and they will hardly beare the like respect to the childrẽ, or to ẏ baseborn, as they do to the goodman. The same be seedes of deuision which will one day shoot vp and bring foorth faire fruit of discord if it please God, and that peraduenture at such a time as he will giue vs grace to be lookers on, when our turne commeth: or at the least if we must needes be players it may be vpon their scaffold, not vpon our owne.

Thus both in grosse and in retayle, as well within the

The Dukes of Lorrain, & Sauoy.

Realme as without we see all those that challenge any share in our estate, and that haue engendred, bred, hatched and nourished this cursed league among vs. Alas, yet if among them there were anyone, I doe not say that might proue a better king then ours, but that were but capable to be king, whose companions would not deny him the scepter, but yeld vnto him: who could take from the townes all meanes of altering the gouernment: who could releeue the people: satisfie the clergie: content the nobilitie: restore reuerie one to his degree and calling: defend the whole body of the realme, and keepe it from dismembring: reestablishe Iustice, and bannish violence and pillage. To be briefe who had but one qualitie belonging to a king, I woulde in a sort excuse these deuilish persons, and pardon their error committed in forsaking a braue and flourishing Prince, repleniched with vertue, iustice and experience: wise to gouerne his estate and defend it: I say in forsaking such a one for an old stranger: Impotent, trembling with diseases and age: either for childzen misborne, both in body and minde: or for petie Princes deuoid of authoritie, of no force, weak enough to withstand their partakers, or their friendes, albeit their enemies neuer meddle with troubling of them. But I cannot brooke this, to see that among them all, such wise heades, or that so take themselues to be, there is no counsaile, but what tendeth to ruine, to destruction, to dismembring, or to sharing and deuiding of this estate, as if their soueraigne felicity consisted in the vtter decay therof, because they themselues are not able to keepe it out of the possession of the right king. And woe be to you Nobilitie, Clergie, Commons, and Towns, in case you dwel among these dismembrers, or that their drifts take place, ye shall no longer be of France. One must be a Spaniard: an other must hold of the League: another must acknowledge Sauoy: one must stoupe to the gouernement of the Duke of Ioyeuse, aduaunced to the Countie of Tholouze: another to the Commonwealth of Orleans: another to the Duchie of Berry: another to the Cantons of Picardie. To be short,

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it will be a goodly sight: I wot not whether after such a storme your children may make whirries of the peeces of this great ship, but of this I am well assured, that so many of you as shall chance to be in it at the wrecke shall be in hard case.

Two other factions at that time in France, namely, that of the late king, that is to say, of true French men (for so we are to call them) the Princes seruants, and that had regard onely to the Crowne: and that of those of the religion, whom their owne defence, together with the oppression whereinto they were brought, had in truth iustified: these two I say were united and confounded in one by the comming of this king: yea the last of them is so extinguished that there can be no lawfull distinction, as indeede it were not meete that the effect ceasing, or they not urged or persecuted, they should in matter concerning ciuill obedience hold a seuerall body in the estate. For if for matter of conscience they cannot at this present change their order, that is done. As I haue then noted, that the people and clergy, that haue least interest in the monarchie, haue receiued the factions of the league, and supported their faction: euen so also our Nobilitie which cãnot subsist without estate royal, did wholly commit it selfe to the kinges side, so that to returne to my first course, in lieu that afore we had three factions in France, when the forme of our kingdome stoode whole, now that it is defaced in the heartes of moste of our subiectes, we haue (to speake properly) but two. One of the Nobilitie, assisted by the chiefe of the Clergy, which vpholdeth the dominion royall: the other of the Commons with the remnant and skumme of the Clergie, that seeketh to alter the same.

Now in the first, contrary to the other, there is not only better order (for the state of the realme doth rest therin) more iustice to content the consciences of such as are therein, but also much more suretie and safetie; for at the least the king hath to withstand none but his enemies: none of his owne faction doth disclaime his degree, his calling or

his absolute power. No man dooth thinke vpon altring the gouernment: so that for his part all is safe, and prouided that he vanquish his enimies, nothing troubleth him: whereas albeit the others should get the better hande, yet woulde there out of their victorie spring vp among themselues a thousand dissentions, woords and quarrels.

Heare might I now finde place conuenient at large to describe our king nowe ruling, also the toles and instruments that he vseth. In a great tempest, one of the surest helpes that may be, resteth in making the Pilot thoroughlie to vnderstand his own estate: and as I haue spoken of the degrées of all these pettie vsurpers, so were it requisite to shew what our lawfull prince is: but whatsoeuer trueth might be set downe, it would not much differ from flatterie, in case I should set all downe: neither will it become either me to write it Iustus or thée to read it: and therfore I will tell thée only so much as héeretofore I haue sayd, and what I thinke necessarie héere to be set downe.

To paint him out with one onely draught of a Pencill, I tell thée Iustus at one woord, he is a mightie king of warre; and I would counsell euery of his neighbours that like to deale with him, hardly not to leaue any thing at home. As for the particularities of his naturall disposition, it is so extreame quicke and so actiue that whatsoeuer he giue himselfe to, he wholie applieth his wits therto, doing for the most part but one thing at once: and indéed in his présent actions he hath in my opinion committed the fewest ouersights of any Prince in the world. He can hardly ioyne a long deliberation to a spédie occurrence; and that is the reason that in the effects of warre he is wonderfull; for his déed and deliberation doo concurre at once and as well to the one as to the other he ministreth the whole présence of his iudgement. But in councells that require delaies, in truth he hath néed of helpe; and this shoulde they that serue him well know, in that it is not possible he should reuoke his mind from spédie purposes wherein he doth continuallie imploy it (one being no sooner at an ende but that infatiga-

fatigable he slippeth himselfe into another) to leaue it to discourse of negotiations of longer tract. Yet hath he this in him, which should greatlie content his counsellors, that albeit he neuer thought vpon or was disposed to a matter, yet in case his seruants hauing thoroughlie pondered & debated the same, doo come and giue him to vnderstand of it, he is so readie to enter to the verie point, and to note what hath beene said to much or to little, that a man would iudg him to haue been prouided for it before. My selfe haue seen one come to impart to him a matter of importance, whereof he had neuer heard, who at his returne hath beene of opinion that some hath broken with him of it before. But this proceedeth of his woonderfull readinesse and quick spirit, wherein God hath vouchsafed to recompence one thing with another.

He is moreouer a Prince that reposeth most credit and confidence in such as serue him (an ordinarie commendation of valiant heartes) and one that least crosseth them in their charges, how meane soeuer: as imagining that hauing once chosen a man to any office, he should let him do his dutie without impeachment, in such sort that I may well say that if they that are about his person, especiallie suche as haue any great dignities, doo rightlye vndertake the same, the fault shall be in them, if without difficultie they take not what order and disposition they list in his affaires, for herevnto hee yeeldeth himselfe most easie, neyther is there any thing wherein he boasteth of beeing himselfe only, except being on horsseback, in the chiefest feates of warre. For there albeit he trieth his captaines one after another, yet is it easie to imagine that his opinion is not the worst.

And in truth no man can denie but that hee knoweth much: notwithstanding in all other matters, as in the administration of the lawes in Checker cases, in forren negotiations, in spedie dispatches, in the politike estate and so forth: knowing that the time now serueth not to applie himselfe wholy thereabout, he doth altogither relie vpon

such his seruauntes and officers as he findeth to haue trauailed therin and throughly to haue considered of the same, namely in that he reposeth his confidence in them. Wherefore I dare here pronounce them vtterly to be increcusable, if in dealing in the affaires of the realme they vse not whatsoeuer method themselues shall best like of, in that their maister taketh not so great delight in any thing as in the establishment of good orders, such as being well guided the whole world may like of; and to the which he may a thousand times more easily be induced to frame and submit himselfe then of himselfe to establish them. And indeed it is verie requisite he should be eased of that labour.

If any thing be to be spoken further of his behauiour: euen from the beginning of his youth, he hath been misuspected of a certain fault, from which he is as free, as from anie fault that can be noted in his disposition. The house wherof he is borne, his phisnomie, his speeches, his gestures more souldierlike than otherwise, make him to be suspected to be light minded. And yet notwithstanding, whether it be that he hath corrected his nature by cunning, or whether it be of his very naturall inclination it selfe: there is not in the world a more constant man than he, so bent to the thing that he once vndertaketh, vntill he haue brought it to passe, that he may iustly incurre the blame, euen of wilfulnesse. A certaine great Prince of France, checked him vppon a time that he was vnconstant. He to defend himselfe, made all his officers of houshold, of his kitchen, of his Pauntry, of his wineseller, of his stable, and in maner all the rest of his traine, to come forth, & there was not any of thē that either had not serued or were not descended of them that had serued his father, his grandfather, or himselfe from his cradle; wherewith the other was greatly grauelled, who was woont to renew his houshold euerie three monethes. Contrariwise in this mans house, there hath not been anie one seruant vnto this day, that hath been put out of seruice, (which is a rare matter in time of ciuil warres,) notwithstanding that there haue been some, which haue not been vtterly

vtterly voyd of suspition of vntrustinesse.

Also he hath bẽn counted nigardly, and in truth it was hard for him to be other wise, considering that he succeeded a Prince that had bẽn ouer liberall afore. And it may be that the great extremities wherein he had passed the most part of his age, made him to feare least he should be tyed to necessitie still. I will not gainsay this marke, so it were true indeed. For whether it be in a priuate houshold or in a kingdome: it is alwaies a token of the restitution therof: when after a prodigall predecessor, there commeth a sparing successor. There was neuer Prince that maintei-ned his house continually, with better and more honourable entertainment, or that had his seruants better appointed and lesse disordered than he. Neyther was there anie other difference betwæne him and his predecessor, then that the one prouided for his liberalitie rather then for hys necessities; but this man doth not so: The other gaue sometimes, much to few; and this man giueth little to manie. But in the end it will be found, that hee hath giuen more since he was king, then his predecessor did in fiue yeares afore. For his nobilitie and generally all they that haue serued him, haue had their part of it.

And now seeing I haue touched his faultes. I will also speake of the good that is in him. There is one point in him that few Princes haue had, and none euer had it, but hee that was a great Prince. He hath bẽne contented to haue the truth told vnto him. It is a great word that I say, and few men will beleeue it: but yet nenertheleese so it is. Neuer man repented the speaking of trueth vnto him, howe harsh so euer it were; specially if he vnderstood that it proceeded of loue and good will. He will perchance be angrie at it, he will rebuke him, he will cast forth some nipping wordes: but al that is nothing, the displeasure goes no further, the partie is neuer the worse liked for it. I speake of such as for their honorable calling may and ought to speak vnto him. The regard and Maiestie of a great king, giueth not that libertie to euery man. But afore them that are of

meet calling, they be not to be excused, if they conceale the euill which they see. He giueth them leaue to tell it him, and although that vppon the sudden he seeme sometime to be offended at the aduice, and to despise it: yet dooth hee thinke vpon it afterward, and prouide for it. Howsoeuer the case stand, it is lawfull for good men vnder this king, too thinke freely what they list, and to speake frely what they thinke; whereof I desire no better proofe than this only leafe of paper, which peraduenture a man durst not haue written, vnder some other prince. But this kind of humour is neuer to be founde, but in a good conscience, which being sound in it selfe, passeth not for the libertie of mens spæches: wheras on the contrarie part the Princes that are giuen to vice, neuer take true counsell in good woorth, be it giuen them for profit or for loue towardes them: but imagin it to bee a reproch to them, and a publishing of their crimes. The reste of his life and behauiour giue him such a qualitie, that if there were no more but onelye that, yea euen though hee were otherwise begrimed and as you would say besmeered with vices all ouer, yet would that purchase him commendation. For his enimies verie willinglie, and we (oftentimes to our greef) confesse, that he is the gentlest, the most easie to giue pardon, and the moste forgetfull of iniuries that euer was. Indeed a Lion were not a Lion, but for his talents and his teeth: a horse were not to be feared, but for his heeles and his feete: an Aspworme is not to be dreaded, but for his tayle: neyther is a prince terrible, but for his cruelty onlie.

If he bee fearefull, yet may he well haue hardie Captaynes about him: if he be voluptuous, he may enterteine someman of wisedome to manage his affaires: if he be couetous, he shall be constrained in the end to spende vppon himselfe, and the very credit of a king, shall alwaies make him to make a good shew to the world whether he will or no: If he be prodigall, yet by impouerishing himselfe, hee shall at leastwise enrich his subiects: for all these sores

there

there is a salue. But if he be cruell, giuen to reuenge, mischieuous, and delighting in bloud: no man dares deale with him, there is to much daunger in the matter, and it is the certainest marke of a Tyrant. For although that name may well be attributed to all wicked princes: yet is it not proper to any but such as are cruell and bloudthirstie; so as it may wel be said to be the highest vice that can be in a king, and most to be feared above all other. We be not (God be thanked) in daunger of that for our king; and I cannot tell whether in speaking of this humor, I should say another thing.

Might I giue mine owne nature libertie to make a scape, and that I were not brideled by the respect of my dewtie: I would thinke I might finde more matter worthie of blame then of condemnation in it. I confesse that in Ciuill warre clemencie hath euermore bene an infallible token of felicitie. But the greatest effects therof haue beene reserued till the victorie hath beene fullie gotten, and the warres fully ended; and not byn vsed before. Then is it true clemencie indeed, and not so long as the perrill endureth; while gentlenesse may be blemished with the reproch of fearefulnesse and with the dread of like measure. Reliefe is to be giuen to enimies that are subdued; but they that are stil of power to annoy, are to be pulled down. Otherwise it is an vtter defacing of the beawtie of magnanimitie, which is woont as well to be rough towardes them that resist, as to be mild towardes them that haue yeelded. But in very deed Iustus, I want sufficient skill to paint out vnto thee, the vnmeasureable mildnes of this Prince, the which by his bringing vp from the cradle, among slaughters, traies, bloudsheds, and battels, could neuer yet change.

I call it mildenesse and gentlenesse: but I sweare to thee that if I might and durst, I would giue it another name: for it surmounteth all reason. I haue seene that within one quarter of an howre after the winning of a field, our Enimies haue byn in such taking among vs, as

we could not discerne them from our selues. They haue bæn with the Prince at his going to bed, at his rising, at his meales, in his chamber, in his cabines, and at all hys priuate houres. I speake not of the principall sort onely, to whom he might haue yelded this good countenance, in respect of the honour that Christians yeld one to another: For it might haue beseemed him wel enough, to haue done so to the Duke de Mayne or to the Prince of Parma, if they had bæn his prisoners But these graces were shewed most commonly to vnder-officers of the Campes in the ciuill warres, whom their liues durst not haue spoken to the king, if they had not bæn his ennemies; and yet being in that state, they receiued good countenance at his hand. Let men blame this manner of dealing as much as they list, as peraduenture they haue reason to doe, and I will willingly help them for the loue that I beare thē; yet must I nēds say in trueth, that it procēdeth of a very naturall disposition which he hath to forget the offence that is done, as sone as it is in his power to reuenge it. For as well in his priuate doings, as in warres, towardes the seruantes of his chamber, towards the Gentlemen of his house, euen in place where no man sees him, where no necessitie constraines him, he retaineth still all one maner of mildnesse, yea euen in such sort as declineth into negligence.

This is all that I can say of him. For as touching the rest of his conditions, the pointes that I will further speak of, shall be such as may rather concerne a priuate person, than a Prince. Neuertheleſſe I will beginne his portraiture at this last colour; howbeit that it be rather an ornament than a counterfet of his vilage. And I say that hitherto he hath bæn one of the happiest Princes in warre, that euer were. He neuer came in any place, vnlesse it were for his pleasure, but his enemies haue turned their backs fore him: and there hath befallen him in his life so great begood fortune (if a man may so terme it) so beyond al hope, so fit to his purpose, & of so great importance, that it must nedes be sayd, that euen from his cradle an Angell of

God

God hath bẽn at his side, and gone continually with him, making his dealings most wonderfully to prevaile against the doings of his enemies, a thousand times more than hẽ himselfe durst to have wished. The course of his life doth witnesse this sufficiently. But such as have served him long time, know that many a time and often, out of sudden resolutions not well fore-viewed, nor well disposed, and such as most of his wisest Counsaillors have condemned, God hath raised him so happie effects, that in the ende the best acquainted therewith, have bẽn driven to let him alone with the doing of thinges afterward, assuring themselues that he had a good guide. But among the testimonies of all the great personages that euer have bẽn, this point betwæns fortune and vertue hath alwaies bẽn acknowledged and continually debated of. The ignorant sort do terme it good hap and good chance: but we that knowe the truth, must name it the grace and fauour of God, the great sole-governor of the world, the God of hosts; & therfor must we draw this necessary conclusion, that this great Workmaister doth not any thing by halfes. but that as hẽ hath happily begon his worke in this little shepheard, so he will also accomplish it throughly to his glorie.

There lieth the surest confidence, wherevpon they that take his part must rest their hope. Yet notwithstanding, besides this, God hath given him so goodly and so great worldly helps, that whosoeuer compareth the one with the other, will by and by iudge, that his aduersary party must nẽds go down to the ground. I passe ouer the order that is vsed on this part, which by likelihood must nẽds ouermate the confusednesse of our enemies: for it was neuer otherwise with them. I also ouerpasse the rightfulnesse of the cace, and the forehandsels of two or three victories: for all these are but outward things. But yet neuertheless, al the great Pẽres, the Princes of the blood, the officers of the Crowne, the Lords of accompt, and al the nobilitie, & gentry, are with the king, and consequently all such as had peculiar authority in themselues, the managing of arms, and

the maintenance of the warres. These men haue a certain natiue superioritie, and a certain naturall souereintie ouer the popular sort, insomuch that as in times past in the war of the bondmen at Rome, the Souldiers of Pompey toke nothing but their stirrop leathers when they went to the battel: so now if this rable of rascals without renowme, do come before the nobilitie and gentlemen, they will neuer abide by it, they be too sore afreid. Moreouer all the good captaines of France are there, and I could name them: but you knowe them well enough: whereas on the contrarie part, with our enemies there be scarsly two, that in al their liues haue had the leading of a hundred horses to battell. Set aside the Duke of Mayne and Chastrie: and I knowe not if a third can be found. Neuertheless the popular sort are so needfull instruments, that the Generall of an armie (be it Alexander, or Cæsar,) is vndone, if he haue not of thē to aid him: whereof I demaund none other witnesse than the Duke of Mayne himselfe, who might perchaunce haue fared the better both at Arques and at Yury, if al men had done as he did, and that he had bin succoured: Wherfore if no man else take part against vs, so as we may haue to do with none but such as are of our owne realme: It will bee no hard matter, I say not for the king onely, but also for the nobilitie and for them that vphold the kingdome, to ouermaister the townes and the vulgar people. And as for forreigne aids, it is yet lesse to be doubted, that the king shuld not be more readily assisted than they, by the Princes that are his neighbors, aswel of the one religion as of the other. For all of them be monarches, all of them be interessed in the preseruation of a State, all of them be enemies to the treason of subiects, and the rebellions of cōmonalties, they all feare and hate the example thereof. There is none of them all but he may haue a Duke de Mayne bred at home by him: neither is there any (sauing such as are desirous to vsurpe that estate) that will intermeddle in the defence of a vassall against his king. Yet is not this all: for they that come to the succour of our enemies, forasmuch as they can

receiue

receiue no other recompence of the townes and commons, than onely to become their maisters: do come with an extreame pride, and desire to ouerthrow them, to vexe them, and to conquer them: & that is the cause that by and by after, they be so hated as ye would pitie it. On the contrarie part, they that aide our king, forasmuch as they conceiue great hope of his good grace, come onely of obedience and good will to serue him. By reason whereof they do vs none other discommodity, than only that we pay them their wages: whereas our enemies find themselues more cumbered with their succours, than with our warres. Such is the state of the affaires of the king, and of his part if I may so terme it. But albeit that in comparison of the other part, all things are here better ordered and in more safetie: yet notwithstãding it was not possible but that among so manie disorders as haue bin brought in, partly by the diuersitie of religion, and partly through the strange aduentures of this Prince, and of his predecessor, some corruption hath growne of it as well here as elswhere, yea euen such corruption as will grow to a Gangrene that cannot be cured. Diseased bodies haue alwaies some distemperatures, and the soundest part of them is not free from some venim. For as on the part of the Communaltie, the Cities haue some incombrances by deuision of Libertie, by mutinies, and by other matters of Commonweale: & as they of the league, by reason of the contempt of order and of Magistrates, which they haue brought in by the confusion which they haue receiued, haue found themselues at length in the realm of the Frogs, where the lowdest crier hath the maistry: so also on the part of the monarchy, and among the noblemen, the disorders haue bred a certaine monstrousnes, & a certaine byle which cannot be cured of long time, except God put to his hand. There be gouernors of Prouinces and other places nowadaies, which are such, that the wisest and best of them, thinketh not that he ought to haue care of any further thing than of his own charge, Cittie, or place (for there is not any rule so generall, whereunto some exception may not be taken.) In somuch that the wisest and

best of them would perchance be very sorie three and twenty houres in a day, that there were peace in France, and that the kings authoritie were acknowledged throughout, and that iustice bare sway, and that there were no need of garrisons.

The sweetnesse of commanding without controulment doth so greatlie delight them, and they find such a pleasantnesse in disposing at their pleasure of the kings reuenews, of the benevolences and suites of his people: that they could be contented that the Realme should still be tumbled and turmoiled vpside downe, rather then they would with their good wils euer leaue that trade of life. If they speak but three words, one of them shall be of the keeping still of their place: And vnder that title are conueied all the outrages of the world without gainsaieng. In the meane time if the king command their seruice, it may be that for some fiftéene daies, they will bring with them euen their pages armed: but that commeth not from them so much for good will as for vaineglorie, that men may say, behold, this is a man of countenance, he hath a gallant troupe. For be the terme once out, a man may well speake of fighting, hee may well see the Duke of Parma, hee may well crie vnto them; if you come thence to the place where we be, in the end of the warre when Parris is taken, after a little labor, ye shall thenceforth liue in rest: all this will serue to no purpose.

My Lord Gouernour will needs go to prouide for his place, and by and by discharging all things they be readie to go their way. My maisters the secretaries of the state, must go trauell about the recouery of bondes of all sortes, about Abbey matters, about the confiscations of Leaguers goods, about the entertainment of new companies, that is to say, the maintenance of their kitchin, about the payement of Rents and Customes both old and new, and about gifts and mortgages. To be short they must haue another kingdome made for them: for in this there is not enough to reward them.

Heereupon

French Pragmaticians: the cheife employed men of the court, & state.

Heerevppon it is a woonder to heare what mone they make in the Lobby or outer chamber: they bee not payde their wages, they haue nothing giuen them, they haue dailie a fortie or fiftie men at their owne finding: and yet the king whom they haue robbed, and whome they haue as good as deuoured by withholding from him his customes and reuenues, must still for all this, be greatlie bounde vnto them. O ye horsleaches wherwith will you haue him to pay you? If you will needs haue him to pay you, then do as the phylosopher did, which imagined that there were so many worldes: make him another newe kingdome. Whence should he haue money, but from his receipts generall? And you know that euen in the richest there is not money sufficient to pay the Garrisons.

What are the Tenthes woorth to him at this day when all the Clergie is against him? What is he the better for the equiualents, the aids, the entries & issues, or the Saltmines, seeing he is not maister of the Citties? What is he the better for the Casualties, when they be sooner begged away, than excheated? Were he Lord in peaceable possession of his Realme, it shall be verified vnto you by the estate of his Exchequer, that he had need of more then four millions of gold, before he should haue mony sufficient to satisfie you all; & he at this day enioyeth not a fourth part. To what end then do his conquests serue him? If he win a countrey or Cittie nowadayes, it will not beare halfe the enterteinment of the Gouernour that he shall send thither. There commeth no more to his owne purse by it, than if the Enimie held it still. There is no remedy. Therefore I must needs say, that this mischiefe becommeth intollerable, and that if it be not prouided for betimes, the kingdom can by no meanes longe indure. In the meane time they serue their turnes with these publicke miseries, to the great contempt of the royall authoritie, to build them Castles in Spaine.

There is not any of them but he maketh an Earledome or a Dukedome of his place, and which (proceeding yet to

More likelyhood of worse, then better. Charges encrease in warr: taketh not ye resolute course, to enrich himselfe, & empoouerish ye

woorse) saith not, when I haue made my hande, if I bee not welcome to the one side, I will flete to the other. This in my iudgement is the mischiefe that pincheth vs most, this is it that procureth the hatred of our people against the kingdome, and by the example thereof maketh the moste part of our Nobilitie to bee out of loue with peace. For through the euill example of these grosse Gouernors, there be so many pilferers, so manye people that make warre within the countrie, and so many that make their houses frontier Garrisons: that when an armie is to be leuied, there is not a man to be found, except it be that they leape out a little way from their fort to go get some bootie, from whence they will not be gotten, vnlesse it be to come backe againe loaden with spoile. This vtterlie decaieth and impouerisheth the king: and to knit vp the mischiefe withall, it hath so nusled the Nobilitie in the contempt of Iustice, that all other men are eager to doo the like: & that is counted the worst thing that can be in the world.

O Father of our Countrey, O most sage
And valiant Prince, the honour and renowne
Of all our kings, O Lewis peerelesse Pearle,
Rowe backe the streame of Accheron and come
Againe, and see how furious rage impels
Our brainsick Cities frantikely to pull
Thy most victorious flowers from their Towers,
And for the Flowrdeluce, without regard
Of shame or honour, lewdlie to aduance
The Marrane colours. Come and see how euen
Within the bowels and the hart of France,
Thy wicked children void of grace, haue cast
Off all obedience, so as Paris is
Become within a frontier towne, and euen within
The chambers of thy statelie palaces,
The Arragonian tyran lodgeth now

His rascall iacks. No, no, I aske not I
What valiant prince it was, that durst thy realme
By sword to conquer: he is yet vnborne.
And had not trustlesse treason borne the sway,
The kaitife in thy house had neuer slept,
His sword had neuer booted him without
His Indian gold, wherewith his custome is
To worke his feates: the yellow glistring light
And brightnesse of his gold not only dims
Our Frenchmens eies, but also daunts their hearts,
And from their faces burnes away the white
Of natiue loue and faithfull loyaltie.
Bereft of sence, rebellious to their Lords,
Besotted with the cup of ciuill wars,
And minding inward nothing but reuenge,
They, they themselues haue (to their owne decaie)
The forraine souldior fondly taken in.
With gratious eie of pittie vs behold,
See how the Lorrain Hares and Piemount Roes,
Doo hem the Lyon in on euery side:
And of this mischiefe and this deadly bane
Which burnes vp all, vouchsafe some end to make.
In former time when thou didst gouerne vs,
The terror of thine onlie threatning looke
would soon haue made those fellows quake for fear,
And farre, yea farre haue chased them away,
Euen to the mountaines which renowmed be
For their continuall whitenesse. But as now,
Because the Lion whom they heeretofore
So greatly feared, wanteth wherewithall
To make defence: these traytors dare presume
To set vpon him. One of them dooth twitch
Him by the beard and by the dreadfull front:
Another bites him by the tayle: another

With sheeres of steele, doth sheare his golden mane
Which dreaded was erewhile throughout the (world
In all the lands that are inhabited.
He couching close them fiercely doth behold,
And drawing towards death doth neuertheless
Enforce himselfe with all the might he hath,
To worke reuenge. He rowzeth vp his mane,
And with a dreadfull rore doth well bewray,
That with despight his heart is set on fire.
And that if euer he his health recouer,
With Nyce and Nancie he will sure be euen.

If there were at this time a good phisition to be found for our estate, who hauing well and exactly considered the fits & accidents of mischiefs, which haue so oftē come to the vtterance within these thirtie yeers, and which by the long continuance of the maladie, haue in the end almost dissolued this great kingdome: insomuch that the weakenesse which is growne vpon it within these two yeres, hath bereft it both of pulses, knowledge, remembrance, and speech, yea and almost of his life too: I beleeue he would be of opinion, that there is not any other remedy or hope of setting it in good state againe (at least wise if there be anie hope at all:) than only peace, than happie peace, whether the same be gotten by force of armes, and by Gods fauouring of our king so much as that he may conquer the whole realme, or whether some other good meane may be found to do it otherwise: or else our miseries, our famine, our pestilence, our warres, our scourges at Gods hand, and our terrors will at the length compell both parties of vs for very wearinesse to let our weapons fall out of our handes, that we may take some rest. I dare not bring forth my confections among so manie great Doctors, nor my notes of remembrance among so manie principall Phisicions, which haue gouerned France during these accidents, and haue bin ac-

quain-

The Miracle of Peace. Sonets of Bartas.

quainted with all hir fits, hir powers, her dales both good and euill, and all the whole course of her maladie. I will say here but onely two thinges that I haue obserued in these affaires, as foretokens of horrible callamities, and as a witnesse that God is vnpittifully angry with France.

1. The one is, that a three or foure yeares ago, all degrées of the realme, and in maner all the Peeres, the chiefe of the Nobilitie, the Cities, the Churchmen, and generally all the common people, cried with one voice, Peace: and notwithstanding, in all the Counsels, and in all the great assemblies that haue been in that time, there hath not beene so much as anie one man (specially among our enemies,) that once vouchsafed to open his mouth towardes it: Nay contrariwise, it hath béene among them a cursed thing to speake of it. The other is, that there is scarse one man of

2. an hundred thousand of vs, which is not vndone by the warres, who might be benefited by peace; and yet notwithstanding all this, you would say that either fury or the diuel driueth vs headlõg into slaughter bloushed, and murder. Therefore that I may except no person, I will begin at the king. Who hath more néede of peace than he? I say that although God had bound himselfe to bring all his enemies before him in battel, and to make them to fall into his hands, and to giue him as manie victories as there be dayes in the yeare, and that he should be sure to win al the places of his realme in fiue monthes, and to rid away the remembrance of all our rebellions by the stroke of the sword: yet notwithstanding I vphold it were more for his behoofe, to haue their willing obedience with peace by gentlenesse, though it seeme to vs lesse absolute, than to haue it by force full of violence and cruelties.

This great and long feuer that hath so greatly vexed France, hath so weakened vs, that we cannot anie more abide to beare a violent remedie. And yet this is not all. For the ingrédiences whereof the potions are to be made, are so fierie and scorching already and will become so burning in continuance, that at length they will growe

worse than the humour that is to be purged by them. Let him bethinke him of it: For it may chance to be one of the greatest misteries of his estate. Peace hath this advantage in it, that the subiects must needes yeld their willing consent to the obeying of the Prince: otherwise it were no Peace at all. More warre and enforcement, they cannot worke that effect. For true obedience dependeth upon free will, and not upon forced. When a king commandeth people that of their owne good willes are obedient, hee hath in himselfe alone the power of his scepter, and needeth not any man but himselfe. But if he must winne them by violence, what a quantity of armor and weapon, what a number of Captains, of souldiers, of Princes, of Lords, and of other officers must he be faine to haue for the maintenance of his Crowne. And that is a matter of great importance.

I cannot tel whether hauing spoken of the person of our king, I ought also to treate of the chiefe of the contrarie part. I denie not but that within a while after the death of his brother, & furthermore after the death of the late king, the likelihood of his prosperity might make him to conceiue some matter of great importance. But yet hee knoweth well, that from thencefoorth he had great encounters with his cosen the Duke of Awmale. He well knoweth that being at Vandosme, at such time as they came to Towrs, the other propounded matter to be consulted of, whether he should haue the gouerning of the Armie in his turne, & that when it was denied him, hee returned thence to gouerne alone his owne side. Againe, he knoweth well what a doe he had with his other cosine the Marques of Pont, who played not the huckster as the Duke of Awmale did, but would needes absolutely haue the whole gouernement to himselfe, as the auncientest of that house. Finally, hee knoweth well what a iealousie the Duke of Nemours strooke into him, what obedience the Duke of Mercurie yelded him, and much more the Duke of Ioyewse, which did once thrust his sonne in lawe the Marques of Villars out of Tholouse, who had driuen him out from thence a-

foore

fore. And I could adde yet further, what obedience hee purchased of the seditious citties, and what succours hee had of them in his affaires. I for my part doe pardon the late Admirall Chastillion, who hauing in a iuster case tried what a paiment it is to be the chiefe of a side in ciuill warres, when on the Friday before his death he was counselled to get him out of Paris wounded as he was, he answered him, my friend I cannot goe hence without entering into warre, and I had rather die here, than euer to returne to that: yet notwithstanding, if the Duke of Maynes affayres were in like case at this daye, as they haue beene heeretofore: there were some cause for hym to thinke, and to hope for diuerse successe, and in the end some great good fortune: but poore soule, in what taking is he now? The common people, specially of Fraunce, do soone forgoe the good opinion whiche they haue conceiued of a man. Sometimes the labour of a mans whole life shall behooue to the purchasing of his credite: and two vnfortunate mishappes shall make him to loose it. For assoone as the people perceiue, that he in whom they had put their trust is growne so weake, that hee is faine to relie himselfe vppon a greater: by and by they leaue the first to go to the other. The reason thereof is, for that the ignorant multitude, are led but by outward apparance. And therefore it suiteth their combes, when they see that the men of warre, the canons, the Swissers, and the Lanceknights do no more follow the Duke of Mayne, but that he is faine to leane to the Duke of Parma; for all is lost for him. And in in trueth if it be meete to touch particularities, and that I may take vppon me to finde fault with the doinges of this chiefe leader in warre: considering how many meanes he had these two yeares in his hand: he hath not brought any great thing to effect: and that is but a very bad and a verie miserable gouerning. But like as he, so also we haue had to do with people no more tractable than his. For they were much weaker, and had drawne much longer tyme in the collar. But I haue seene the King that nowe

is, driuen to hazzard welnére his life and good fortune in one of the chiefe cities of his parte, by the space of full fifteene daies togither, for the effecting of some one matter. For else he thought that men would haue looked awrye at him, and surelie it was true: for had he managed his feat amisse, it may be doubted whether he should euer haue bin welcome againe or no.

Now let this gentleman adde the reproches and disgraces which he hath bin fayne to endure of the Spanishe armie, the braueados which this mans owne brother prince Frauncis (descended by his mothers side lawefullye of the race of our kings) susteined in the sight of his countrie, euen in the place where he had most credit, at the handes of a pettie prince of Italie, a baskard and Page of the king of Spaines. And what will he doo then to the Tyrant himselfe, when being banished and driuen out of France, hee shall perchance be constrained to resort to his court, there like a beggar to craue, not succour but liuing? Yea let him adde yet further the hazard of his estate, which may perchance one day be, either to be a fugitiue and runagate thorough the world: or else to be defeated, taken, and carried about as a publicke spectacle. And this doth he hazard for nothing as now, neither is there any great likelihoode or hope of succesle hereafter, why he should so runne a head. To be short, he may well conclude hereupon, that seeyng he hath alreadie put from him the hope of the kingdome, his trauelling from henceforth must néeds be, eyther to make hauocke of the realme, or else to conquer it for some other man.

Now if a man should aske our Cities and our miserable third estate, whether they haue their fill of the Catholike Religion, and whither they be wearie of the warre, and had not rather to haue peace: I beléeue they would thinke a man mocked them, neyther were it to be doubted of. But yet to stop their eies with shame, and to bereaue them of all excuse, I will say but two thinges vnto them. The one is that they should looke into themselues, and see what

what reestablishment they haue purchased to the state, what relieue to the people, what suretie to Religion, what order to the realme, or what rest to their priuate families, since the eightenth of July 1585. The other is, that the example of Paris the chiefest Cittie of the realme, whych ought of all others to be chieflie succoured, and wherein all parties haue most interest, shoulde make them wise. Behold (ye Cities) behold the horrible iudgement that God hath sent vpon this faire and heretofore flourishing cittie, your mother Towne: consider the dreadfull signes of all the scourges that haue faine vppon her one after another and leisurely, to the intent to prolong hir death with a softe fire.

Consider the warrs and famine at one time, pestilence and long diseases afterward, could without remedie, extreame pouertie in the sight of aboundance, cruell deedes, deuisions, inforcements, dishonouring of mens wiues and daughters, whom necessitie bereft of shame, ruines of houses, burnings, desolations both within the wals and without, made as well by friendes as by enimies, of so manye goodlie buildings, which wealth and the greatnesse of the glorie and superfluitie of so many former yeares, had rayled vp about this third Babell, and second Rome. Bethinke your selues of the leisurely wrath of the euerlasting God, which is not quailed with one punishment alone, but gathereth strength in striking, and doth well shew that he chastizeth not any longer as a father, but punisheth as a mayster; and let that moue you and make you wise. Fynallie, I yelde and conclude, that it is but losse of time to enquire whether the Frenchmen ought to desire peace after so many mischiefes, and rest after so many paines. For proofe thereof there needeth no more but this last argument, that since it is the desire of strangers to see vs at this point, surely it ought to be our feare. The paine that they take to haue it so, is a sure token that it is our ruine.

This a great question and worthy the demand which now succedeth, and for the which onely, I haue made all

Secunda pars, religiosa.
Quale Apologia Guelli.

the other as you would say for a preparatiue. For no man doubteth but that peace is the onely meane to restore this estate. All of vs confesse that the dissention in religion was the first ground of the ciuill warres: but therewithal from these two propositions men leape out into a third, namely that the king, to take away this dissention, must become a catholike, and that that is the sole and onelye meane, to haue a general peace sure and well setled. This proposition is so plausible and so well liked of the common people, and I cannot tell whether I may be so bolde also as to call it captious, that they had nede to haue marueilous pure eares, that should be able to iudge of the cunning thereof. For in the winding vp, it is after a sorte a charging of the king with all the trouble, and a blaminge of him for all the mischieues, that within these thirty yeers haue taken rote in our state, and which spring vp therein yet still.

At the beginning of his reigne men murmured a little at the mouing of that case, and in very deed the suddein alteration was strange, not only in the person of the Prince, but also in the willes of the chiefe Peeres of the Realme, which came then to kneele downe before him, against whom they had stood at defiance within sir moneths afore. Yea and our fauourers doubting least on the contrary part he should be constrained to deale against his conscience cried out to him to take sure hold, and made open shewes on their side to beseech him to abide firme. Neuertheless the reason wherevpon he stood, and the manner of the proceeding that he held to content the Lords Catholike: and on the contrary part the manner of the proceeding of the enimies, who hauing murdered a king that was passing deuout, were not minded to lay downe their weapons at the first bringing in of the masse againe, made that brute to cease for that time. Within a while after, it wakened againe: men talked of it, and bookes were printed of it, (signes that are wont to forge some great inconuenience) and some there were to be seene a newe, vnto whome although

though answer had beene made already, yet woulde they say, I am not contented therewith for all that.

Now when I find any simple ignorant person (be he of the Roman religion or of the reformed) to stande stiffe in his opinion, the one that the king should change his manner of life: the other, that he shoulde persist still therein: I will hold him excused. But if I see any of the Doctors in Israell (be he of the one part or of the other) that vpholdeth that proposition, I will holde him for a suspect person. It is neyther Rome nor Geneua that maketh Christians: Christianity is not a trade or handie craft that a whole cytie standeth by. Christians are those that heare Gods word and keepe it: and true religion is that which is grounded purely vpon the writings of the holy Ghost. So that it is be to wish for any thing in our king: it is not that he should followe the sect either of Rome or of Geneua: (for like as those places ought not to bring contempt to the doctrine, so ought they not also to adde authoritie vnto it) But that our king should reduce all his people to the seruing of God, in such sort as God himselfe commandeth vs to serue him: That he should take away schisme and deuision, howbeit not of Christianitie: for in Christianitie there can be none but christians: that for the bringing of that to passe, hee may take the waies that haue bin woont to be vsed in such cases, and which the kings and Princes haue holde which were his predecessours: that he may be desirous to see all his subiects obedient, as well to God as to himselfe: & that according to the desire of his hart, hee may also bee able to bring it to effect, and perswade himselfe that he is called to the crowne, as well to take away this dissention, as also to set vp againe the puritie of religion: these bee the thinges which we ought to wish concerning our king.

As touching them that thinke the king ought to become a Catholike (for I must needs vse those names for my purpose) and that if he doo not, do protest (as men saye) they will worke him all the losse, harme, and mischief they can: If they will perswade him to it, they must needes doo it by

The second part of this discourse.
Religion.

two sorts of reasons. The one and the best drawne out of
1. Diuinitie: the other of lesse wait, and surelie lesse to bee
regarded, taken out of the iudgementes of the state and
2. Lawes of the Realme. As touching those of Diuinitie, it
is not mine intent to enter into them at all. It is not to
be done so lightlie. And of the other sort I haue had small
acquaintance, hauing learned no more of them than will
serue mine owne turne. And they that haue put forth such
discourses (learned though they be) haue not obtained their
purpose by them. May I will say this by the waie, that
in those works euery man may marke the good or the euill
that he listeth: and I haue noted for my part, that they be
all made and expressedlie addressed, to moue folkes affecti-
ons, and to make them crie out, Great is the Diana of the
+ Ephesians: but there is not in them any one reason that is
not common and stale. As for example, when they aske
the king if he will refuse the name of a Catholicke: whoe
* euer heard so strange a thing spoken? Think they that the
king or those that taught him, haue beene ignorant of the
force and signification of that name? When as they saye
That the Church hath byr succession as direct ie from S.
Peter, as the king that now raigneth hath the succession
of his Crowne from his predecessor saint Lewis: It is
not a worshipfull argument to stablish the authority of the
Church? Againe, when they say That as little ought an
old doctrine to be changed for a new, as an old Prince for
a new: And when they demand Whether the Ministers be
wiser than the Bishops: And when they say, That the king
was baptized in the Church, that he ought also to die in
the Church, that all the kings vnto his time were catho-
like, That saint Lewis was canonized not at Geneua but
at Rome: That if the king be not a catholike, he cannot
H go formost in the ranke of Christian kings: And that it
is not a comelie thinge, that the kinge shoulde pray vnto
God after one manner, and his officers, Princes & lords
after another: (I maruell that they adde not, Hee in a
Cellar vnder a vawt, and they in a faire great Church,)
when

When they debate farther, that the king cannot be drowned, or if he be, it shall be by the hands of a minister: and finallie when they threaten that if he die uncrowned, hee cannot be buried at saint Dennis: It is not a dealing mæt for so great, so holie, and so waighty a matter, neyther is it a sincere kind of reasoning. For in the end what shall be the fruit of such writings? well may the leauing of al these reasons peculiarlie to the king, haue some colour: but to what intent was the publishing of them to the common people? This is all that I will say as now of those labours in generall, as one that hath not accustomed himselfe to find fault with other mens dooings.

So manie men haue taken paines to expound the two names of Catholike and Heretick, that I wonder howe they can be abused. So manie learned men haue shewed both by reasons, and by authorities, and by examples, that the Church hath indured kings that were Heretickes, Atheists, and Heathen men: that whosoeuer shoulde treate thereof now againe, should waste his speech in vaine. Neuertheleſſe, if ye heard and beleeued this sort of preachers, you would say that the king neuer vnderstood what it is to be a catholike: and thereupon they slaunder him, as though refusing that name, he shewed himselfe to be a Turke or a man of Calecute. Surlie there is good reason to say, that a Catholike and a Christian signifie one selfesame thing: so that to refuse the name of Catholike, is as much as to refuse the name of a Christian. But it is not after that maner that the authors of these goodly discourses doo meane, or at leaſt wise as they would haue men to vnderstand it. For they that play not the Catholikes but to please the cõmon people, doubt not (as I haue marked them) but that it is as well a grounded argument as can be, to say Our K. is not a Catholike (so prates sir Pierce in his shop) Therefore he is not a christian, he is an heretick. And thereupon insues this their ordinarye consequence. It is a small thing to haue a good christian, but to haue a good catholicke is very much. For a difference from the Iewish Church of

olde time, which was locked vp and limited within certain families of one peculiar people or nation, and might in no wise communicate with other nations; Our church is called now Catholick, that is to say vniuersall, and which is not particularlie tied to any one nation, but may receiue al men generallie into it. This is the Church that is called Catholike; but the doctrine was not so called at the beginning. For it is not an vniuersall doctrine composed of generall articles wherevnto men may put to, or take from, what they liste, stretching it out or curtalling it at their pleasure: but contrariwise it is most simplie one doctrine, grounded alonelie vpon certaine writings, and vppon the certaine maximes and principles of fayth. And it is so far off from being so catholike, so vniuersall, and so generall as the Iewes was: that contrariwise it is a thousād times more particular, more strait, and more speciall. Read the fift chapter of saint Mathew, where our Lord speaking of the one as well as of the other, sheweth a manifest difference betwixt them: insomuche that when a man calleth one a Christian, he giueth him the title that is proper vnto Christ himselfe. But to giue the title of Catholike to any thing else than the Church, thereby to betoken as much as Christian or trained in the doctrine of Iesus Christ, is no proper kind of speech. And for proofe thereof, (for it behoueth me to yeeld a reason to the ignorannt, for it is they to whom I direct my words) the Epistles of the Apostles Peter, Iames, Iohn, and Iude, are called Catholike, But is that in respect of their doctrine? No verilye: but for that they be not written peculiarlie either to the church of Corinth, or to the church of Colossus, or of Ephesus, as the other of saint Paules are: but are generallie directed to all churches. And in good sooth we say not, I beleeue the catholike doctrine: but wee say, I beleeue the Catholicke church. Which title was added expresselie by the apostles (or howsoeuer it be, by som of the first that within a while after them retained these articles of the faith) bicause that after the death of our Lord, there were some that doubted

still,

still, whether Gods worde and the misteries of saluation, might and ought to be communicated to the Gentiles. And in verie trueth also, not one sauing S. Paule, had receiued any particular commandement thereof. And therefore hee was fully resolued, that there was not anie more destruction of peoples, to be made in respect of Christianitie, neyther had the Iewes in that behalfe anie priuiledge aboue the Gentiles, but all were one, and the Church was Catholike and vniuersall. That was the first reason there.

Afterward in continuance of time, yea euen of veris short time, there sprang vp diuers opinions in the church. Which sheweth full well, that the perfection, the rule of trueth, the verie touchstone, is not tied to this militant church which is compacted of men that are subiect to error. The thing that is true hath no diuersitie. Therfore when anie diuersitie happened: the whole Church, that is to say all the Bishops, and all the Pastors that could be gathered together, iudged of ẏ new opiniõ by the rule of Gods worde. And when it was once condemned, whosoeuer held it afterward, was called an Heretick: against the which they opposed the Catholicks, that is to say: those which followed the consent of the greatest number of Bishops, united and agreeing in self-same opinion. But hereof I will speake more hereafter.

Now then, this worde Catholick hath diuers interpretations; contrariwise the terme Christian can haue but onely one. When a man saith the Catholick Church, in very deede it is as much to say as The Christian Church. For there is no church vniuersal, but only ẏ Christian. But whẽ a man speaks of ẏ catholick doctrin, it is not alwaies so: at leastwise if ye haue an eie to the proper significatiõ of the worde, forasmuch as it hath many vniuersal doctrins, which yet foral that are not Christian doctrins. Are not al ẏ Arts which we haue, such? are they not taught vniuersally after one sort? Then is it an ill kind of reasoning, to cupple ẏ Church and ẏ doctrin together in the name of Catholick. And there is great difference betweene saying, that a doctrin is preached

ched vniuersally after one same sort, and saying ỹ a doctrin is vniuersall. The first is true. But if ye take it in the second sence as the Catholickes now a daies do: namely, that ye must beleeue as all the world vniuersally beleeueth: It is verie false, and a man had need of a verie daintie eare to conceiue that distinction. It is a very reuersing of the mode, to vpholde that because the Church is vniuersall or in all places through the whole world: therefore we must beleeue whatsoeuer al Christendome or the most part thereof beleeueth. Againe, it is another point of marueilous sophistrie, to say, the Church as Catholicke or vniuersall, and you be but a small handfull of men: Therefore you be not of the Church. For it hath been often found, that the number of the heretickes hath farre exceeded the number of the right beleeuers. And by this argument, as little shall you bee of the Church as we. For the number of vs in comparison of you, is greater, than yours in comparison of the rest of the world that bee heathen, and Mahometistes. Christendome conteineth not fully all Europe; and what is to be said then of Asia, Africa, and America? It is yet a worse conclusion, to say that vnder the word Catholicke, is contained the true religion, allowed by the consent of the whole world. For the contrarie is seen in experience: Insomuch that not onely the word of the Lord restraineth his sheepfold to a small number, but also all auncient histories do touch it to be so.

Yet notwithstanding the Catholickes of these dayes doe ouershot themselues, not onely in the name it selfe, in that they terme themselues Romane Catholickes, or Catholickes of Rome, which is as much to say as Christians vniuersall particular: but also in the interpretation of the name. For in calling themselues Vniuersales, or of the Church that followeth the vniuersall doctrine, they gaynsay themselues by restraining the vniuersall doctrine to that which hath been, is, and shalbe taught in the particular City of Rome. Now then, according to this principle, the Church must be Catholicke, but the doctrine must not be so:

so: and that do they denie, for they call it the catholicke doctrine. Moreouer the doctrine shoulde by that reason take his authoritie of the place where it was first preached, which is not to be abidden.

What is to be said then for the concluding hereof? Gods Church is compacted of the vniuersall bodie of the whole world, and gathered together by the sound of his worde, which is heard through all the foure quarters of the world. This Church being but one as the world is but one, receyueth but one forme, such as the word of God giueth vnto it, a form that throughout ẏ whol vniuersal world, & al the visible partes of the Church ought to be one and vniforme in resemblance; because the word of God is but one and alwaies like it selfe. That is the true interpretation of the word Catholicke.

The word Hereticke requireth no great interpretation. The men of olde time called him an Hereticke, which had made a choyce of some particuler opinion, and maintained it wilfully against all the other Shepheardes of the Church; but to haue spoken fitly, they should haue said, against the recordes of the Scripture. For this rule of the consent of bishops, had been false in the counsel of Arinim, where were sixe hundred Arrian Bishops and mo, against fiue and twentie that taught aright. And hee that had said then, that the true vnderstanding of Gods word had bin in the opinion of the six hundred, and contrariwise that the heresie had beene in the fiue and twentith, hee had mistaken his marke. Do we not read that the spirite of lying was in the mouthes of the king of Israelites 4. hundred Prophets; and that onely Micheas had the trueth? And therefore all the determinations of ẏancient Counsailers said, not simply that such an heresie was condemned by the iudgement of so many or so many Bishoppes: but that the opinion of such a man was condemned by such and such scriptures. Which thing sheweth wel that the visible Church serueth but as a Clerke or a Notarie that receiueth publicke actes and entereth them vppon record, hauing no authoritie of

himselfe to giue them any force. And if there néd a greater example, when our Lord himself, the head of the church disputed against the father of Hereticks, hee alledged nothing vnto him but onely the plaine and pure scripture: Read the fourth chapter of S. Mathew. Notwithstanding because the first Heretiche that euer rose vp, was found to be against all the other Bishops: there was forthwith opposed against him, the consent of all the residue, who were all of one accord, and came all of themselues therefully to receiue the liuely voyce of God: which thing hath continued euer since. But to speake rightly, nothing is contrary to vntrueth and heresie but the truth, neither is there any trueth, but that which is conteined in the holy scripture. So that (to speake properly) it is not the consent of Bishoppes that condemneth heresis, but it is the word of God written whereupon the consent standeth, like as it is not the hand of the goldsmith that trieth the gold and maketh it currant, but the touchstone that is in his hand. Neuertheless it is behouefull, that the discretion and the hand of the Goldsmith should go with the touchstone. For were it the hand of a Mason or of a weauer that had the handling of the stone, it maketh no matter at all: alwaies it is stil the stone and not the hand of the man, that doth properly yéld the allay, and the hand may be serued with a false or an euill stone.

Againe, euerie opinion made not an heretiche, (taking the word heretiche in his proper signification) but onely such an opinion, as impugned the articles of the fayth: For when it concerned but some ceremonies, the case was not so, as appeareth in many places of the ancient histories: but who so will sée this particularly, let him read the Epistle of Firmillian written to Ciprian. Finally it behoued that the Hereticks should be heard, and condemned by Gods word, euen altogether after the same maner that I said our sauiour was contented to heare and condemne the deuill by Scripture. For proofe hereof: let vs looke into the order y was held in condemning all the heretickes of old time, as

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the Valentinians, the Marconiſts, the Nouatians, the Donatiſts, the Arrians the Neſtorians, and all other: and we ſhall ſee there another manner of proceeding than men would vſe nowadaies.

By this definition it ſhoulde bee inquired whether they that nowadaies do name themſelues catholikes, be truely catholikes: and alſo whether we be heretikes, or no. He that ſhould fully and throughly reſolue this queſtion, muſt enter into a great diſcourſe of Deuinitie, and had neede of learned reaſons wel vnderſtood. But here is no place for it: ſo ſolemne an act is not to be doone with ſo ſlender a ceremony.

Were the time once come, and that men were determined with themſelues, to bring with them but only the ſpirit of truth and meekeneſſe: I thinke before God, that the caſe would ſoone be decided. But my purpoſe is no more at this time, but only to anſwer vnto ſuch perſons, as for the finiſhing of that quarrell, haue vſed none other reaſons, than only ſuch as carry great likelyhoode, and to pay them with their owne coyne. And I know well that neyther the one worke nor the other, ſhall either be read, or yeelde eyther harme or profit, but to the minds of the Common people. Dolphins are not for to be caught with ſuch ſmall hookes.

The firſt point that wee haue to conclude on togither, (for I muſt yet ſpeake ſom what thereof) is a certain terme that preiudiſeth the whole queſtion. Wee inquire eyther of vs, wher the tytles of our ſaluation be to be ſought. We on our ſide mayntayne, that onely the writtinges of the Prophets and apoſtles haue the Spirytt of truth, and that all that euer hath followed ſince, yea were it but one moment afterward, is not authenticall; and therefore that no doctrine, whatſoeuer it be, or of whomſoeuer it be, which is not conteined in the holy ſcriptures, is to be receiued. Now if a man wyll know which thoſe be: then beſides the conſent of the whole Church of olde tyme which hath once allowed them, let him read of them in Hierom and Cyprian,

who haue made a description of them. I alleadge the testimonie of these men by name, because our doctors of these daies do stay vpon them, in manner more than vpon saint Peter and saint Paule. I say yet further, that the heardmen of this visible Church wherein we be, could not after the time of the Apostles bring in any new thing, were it neuer so small a point, sauing in discipline, in gouernment or in order, wherein they haue doubtlesse all authoritie, howbeit in such sort, as that of their doings they must (if it be possible) haue some example or testimonie, eyther of the scripture or of the vsage of the primitiue Church. That is our foundation. ¶. Discipline Ecclesiasticall.

Other some go yet farther, for they vphold that the holy Scripture which we now haue, is not fullie perfect: alledging this veerse of saint Iohn which saith, Iesus did many miracles which are not written in this book. Again, Christ did many other things, which being written frō point to point, I think the world it selfe were not able to contein, so many would be the books that should be written therof. Whereby their meaning is to conclude, that then all the things that our Lord did and said, are not conteined in the bookes that we haue, but that there may bee yet some other bookes, wherein some of the things that hee did are written: and therevppon they bring in the actes of saint Peter as they terme them, and certains epistles, and diuers other bookes. But yet is all this misconcluded. For it is verie apparant, that the meaning of this verse of saint Iohns, concerneth Christs doings and not of his doctrine And that it is so, the sequell sheweth, where it is added, But These things are written to the intent ye should beleeue, and that in beleeuing, ye should haue life by hys name. As if he should say, the other doings of the Lorde are not comprised in this booke. But yet is there sufficyent to build vp your faith, and to shew you the way of saluation. Now therefore I will allowe them to argue as much as they list, that all the things that God hath doone from the beginning of the world, are not set downe in the

bookes

bookes of Moises: Ergo the doctrine of the old Testament is not perfect. They hold further, that there is not onelye the law written, but also the law vnwritten which they tearme Traditions, that is to say, things which the firste forefathers taught vnto their successors, and haue bene so conueied ouer from hand to hand vnto this day. For proofe whereof they alledge certaine texts of the olde Testament where it is oft said, When thou seest such and such a sign, thou shalt learne it thy selfe, and teach it to thy children. Also they cite manye testimonies of Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierom, and other good auncient Doctors, which make for traditions. That is true, and we haue prouided that this tradition of man concerneth not the essentiall points of saluation. For nothing can be brought in, whiche is either new or contrarie to it. But as for ceremoniall and indifferent things, there may.

Now when they see we be come to that point: they passe further, and affirme that the Church is aboue the Scriptures, and that the bookes thereof be not authenticall, but in respect that the Church hath declared them to be so. Whereout of they draw a seconde argument, That seeing it hath had the priuiledge and power to authorize the doctrine, and to sort it out from the Apocriphal and prophane writings, and (in summe) to giue it force and vertue: muche more reason is it that it should haue the right to expound it, and consequentlie that there ought to bee none other exposition of the Scripture, then that which is found in the Church. We flatlie to the contrarie protest, that the holye bookes wherein Gods word is written, are the ground worke of saluation, from the fountaine wherof the Church draweth hir instruction, and that they haue their authority in themselues and of themselues, by vertue of the holy Ghost that indighted them: yea and that they themselues doo onely in themselues carrie their true interpretation, the which it is not lawful for men to seek any where else than there. And that this our principle is most true, and contrariwise that their opinion is most captious and false, I will shew both

by authoritie, and by hystorie, and by reason which teacheth it vs: and then will I leaue it vnto them to conclude.

By authority, to be short let vs heare first the lord himselfe speaking in Deuteronomy: You shall not ad any thing (saith he) to the word that I command you, neyther shall ye take ought from it. Looke whatsoeuer I commaunde you, that shall ye take heed to doo: you shall put nothing to it, nor take nothing from it. Cast downe your eies ye shamelesse persons which dare adde, not some iot, but whole third tables to Gods law, which make a fift Gospel, which for some one only text, doo canonize the Apochryphal bokes against the holy ghost. What will ye say to it? let vs hear further in saint Iohn: He whom God hath sent (saith he) teacheth the words of God: for God giueth him not his spirit by measure. And in the same place, I take not witnesse of man. In saint Matthew, speaking to the Scribes and Pharisies, and rehearsing against them the Prophesie of Esay, This people (saith he) approche vnto mee with their mouth, and honor me with their lips, but their hart is farre from me. Their honouring of me is in vaine teaching the doctrine and commandements of men. Read hardily that whole chapter ye hypocrites which seduce the people who call you Rabbies, and which are our maysters in the facultyes, and yee shall see whether it bee you that God speaketh to or no. After the oracles of the Prophets, let vs heare the wise Agur in the Prouerbes. All Gods wordes (saith he) bee pure, and are as a buckler to them that trust therein. Put not any thing to his words, least he reproue thee and thou be found a lyar. Saint Paule vnto Tymothie sayth, that All Scripture is inspired from God. From God? And shall men then (whosoeuer they be) presume to controule the Godhead? God forbid. Again to the Galathians he sayth, If we our selues or anye other man doo preache vnto you any otherwise then wee haue preached, cursed be he. Now then, hath saint Pauls successor greater authoritie in the Church of God, then Paule himselfe? he sayth not a contrary gospell, but another gospel

pell differing from that which he had preached. And finally S. Peter saith, Prophesie came not in olde time by the willl of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moued by the holy Ghost. Are not these thinges plaine and ealle to be vnderstoode? And shall the things that were spoken by the holy Ghost, be authorised by men? God forbid.

After all these Textes, If I be demanded yet further the iudgement of the doctors of the Church. I will alledge but onely one instant of Tertullian, because he is one of them that were nerest to the Apostles, and one of the greatest diuines that haue bene, yea and one vppon whose authority the defenders of mens traditions doe most depend, For in a treatise that he intitleth, The Garland of a Souldier, there be two whole leaues to vphold Traditions: but they be ceremoniall Traditions: for of all the examples that he alleadgeth, there is none but such. In his booke of Prescription against Heretickes, he saith. It is not lawfull for vs to bring in any thing at our owne pleasure, no nor to choose that which another man hath brought in of his own head. We haue the Lordes Apostles for authors, who chose not any thing of their owne pleasure to bring in, but faithfully deliuered to all nations the discipline that they had receiued of Christ. Now if the Apostles being the ground, the foundation and the pillers of the church, could not adde any thing at all of their owne: who shal excuse their successors for doing it, being much lesse priuiledged than they? This is not onely visible, but also palpable. Alas, there is not so much as one of vs that thinketh not himselfe wise inough, to be the onely commander in his owne house: there is not of vs that could find in his heart, to let his seruauntes adde to or diminishe from hys commaundements. And yet we will make God beleue, that he hath not sufficiently prouided all thinges, that he should haue told vs for our saluation: but that in his law he hath forgotten some pointes, for the perfecting whereof he hath relyed himselfe vpon the good intent of men afterward.

Is this tollerable? And that is the cause also why he sayth, that mans wisedome is foolishnesse before God. For the same cause doth S. Paul at Athens mocke the wise men of Greece, telling them that by all their Philosophie both naturall and supernaturall, with their numbers, their vndividables, their Egyptian cunning, their supermindinges, their secrets, and all their misteries both publicke and priuate, they had but bewraied their ignorance, in that they were not able to discouer that God, that vnknowne God, to whom notwithstanding they had by natural instinct of ỹ godhead, reared an altar. For the verie same cause our Lord chosing his Apostles from so manie thousands of men, and from among so many and so diuers professions: did cast his eies vpon none but the poore simple and ignorant Fishermen. Out of doubt there is no cõmunion, no correspondence betweene the desire of God and the desire of man. And in the case of saluation, the meanes thereof are so farre estranged from our corrupt vnderstanding, that all that euer we bring vnto it of our owne, wil more hinder it than further it. God liketh of nothing but of our humilitie, and of the acknowledging of our ignorance. I know nothing (saith S. Paul) but onely Jesus Christ crucified. Who can tell me why God in setting order in the Jewish religion, chose the Lambe, and refused the Swine? Or why he required the Goate for a sinne offering; and a payre of Turtle Doues for a peace offering? How is it possible that we which are vtterly ignorant of the reason of the least things that God ordaineth, should be so presumptuous as to take vppon vs to set order in the greatest thinges? Nowadayes men dispose of the abiding place of the soules that are departed: their paines are made a merchandize, their saluation is set to sale, Paradise is dearely prised; and all this is done because it pleaseth vs so to haue it, and because it is of our owne forging, it is good. We will haue the scriptures to say so too, whether they wil or no. We tie God to ỹ audit of our good works: if there be no mo of thẽ than needeth to our liking, we will that he shall keep the accompt of them,

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and that the ouerplus shal be bestowed vpon them that get pardons. Therevpon wee haue brought in the treasure of workes of superogation: We proceed yet further. In stead of speaking to God, we speake to the creatures, and to such as when they were aliue were offended at the honour that men did vnto them: we come before their images, we direct our praiers to them, and afore the great and onely intercessor, we let him alone: who notwithstanding is so gelouse ouer his worke, that he taketh it verie displeasantly that any man (but himselfe) should intermeddle in the cases that concerne the saluation of men. Surely wee abuse the libertie of our wits. Afore we receiue such things and of so great importance into the Church, wee ought to haue very expresse commandement thereof, and not to hale the textes of the Scripture by the haires of their heades, to geue them thereby the carrere, that we may loade mens consciences with such lawes as we list: I will alleadge one commendable example, & such a one as without doubt ought to suffise to subdue our wits, as often as we do but thinke that there is a God: So farre off is it that we should either be inquisitiue of his being, and much lesse of his secrets, or descant vpon his will. Iob had the honour to speak once familiarly to his maister. Nay (which more is) God seeing that he murmured in himselfe, as if hee should haue said, if thou wert my companion, if thou wert not God, if thou wert a man as I am: I would faine speake vnto thee, I would faine plead against thee, and I woulde willingly aske of thee wherefore thou punishest me, seeing that all my life long I haue been an honest man? God (I say) stooped so low as to vouchsafe to heare him. The history witnesseth it vnto vs. Iob turmoyleth al his small and weake humaine vnderstanding, to charge God with vniustice, and vntrueth, in that contrarie to his promises, he had suffered a righteous man, a man of honestie to be sore afflicted and persecuted. The euerlasting God quaileth this little worming with one onely word, and hauing heard him, is contented to aunswere him. Tell me O Iob (saith hee) if

thou wilt haue me to yéeld thée a reason of my doings, tell me how I made the world, tel me where thou wast at that time: Shew me the foundations of the earth: shewe mée the wombe of the Sea: and then shalt thou call me to accompt. Hereat Iob pawsed, held his peace, cast downe his countenance, knéeled downe vppon his knées, and shewed by his dismaiednesse, that there is not anie capacitie in vs, to vnderstand the least thinges, not onely that are in God, but also that belong to men.

But let vs now peruse the history, and séeing we all agrée that the trueth is conteined in those holy bookes: Let vs take the right way by them It appeareth that the two chiefe parts of the Scripture vnder the two times, that is to wit the ten commaundementes in two tables vnder the Law of rigor; and the praier in fiue articles vnder the law of grace; representing, the one the Iustice, and the other the mercie of God, were visibly and manifestly pronounced by the Lordes holy mouth. Is not this inough? And who would haue béene so hardie, not onely of all the Church of men, but also among the verie saintes of God, as to take vpon him to authorize it? And although the history taught vs it not: yet the verie substaunce of the lawe and of the praier is such, that none in the world but God could make it. For albeit that all men should lay their heads together, to adde somewhat to the prohibitions of the lawe; or to find some default in the petitions of the praier: yet coulde they not do it. Tenne wordes do at one instant comprehend all the sinnes in the world: and fiue other wordes doe comprehend all that can be wished. Let euerie man examine this in himselfe: for it is a sure token, that it is a peece of worke surmounting mans abilitie. Nowe the greater is not authorised by the lesser: and looke what the part is, suche is the whole. One onely ynch of this tapistry, sheweth the weauing of the whole peece. That the interpretations which beyond this are admitted in the Church, are not alwaies true: Let a man read the xv. chapter of S. Mathew, and the viii. of S. Marke, where the Lord doth euidently

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she wto the Scribes and Pharisies (whoe were then the doctors of the Church) the falsenesse of their interpretation and tradition.

Finally, it is to be considered what reason or likelihood there is, that men which acknowlege themselues to weak to worke their owne saluation, should be mightie enough to authorize the bookes that conteine the meanes of their saluation. Should the ignorant be chiefe iudges of skill? or can the blinde find out the principles of light? that hath no coulour of likelihood. Herevnto answer is made, that it is not men that iudge, but it is the holy ghost, who as he touched the mouthes and hands of them that spake & wrote the scripture, so doth he still guide the iudgements of the teachers of the Church, to interpret his writinges. The matter goeth not so: haue recourse againe to the hystorie: God spake once, and vttered his law; and after ward he added no more. All that followed after, interpreted and expounded the law to the people, but how? euen by the lawe it selfe. The booke continued alwaies authentike; menne could not adde any thing to it, nor take any thinge from it. And albeit that it was needfull (considering howe the mysterie of saluation was not yet perfected) that betweene the time of the lawe and the comming of the Messias, God should oft renew his ambassadors, and send many prophets to assure that vnbeleeuing nation, of the truth of Gods promises: yet was there not any one found after Moyses that appointed any new ordinances, or that said vnto the people do this or do that. But al held themselues contented with this word, keepe the law and the ordinances which ỳ lord God of your fathers gaue to his seruant Moyses. So was it also with the gospel, god caused his embassadors to speak once, & by them he gaue intelligence of his will: to them he gaue the spirit of cõmanding, the which he by & by recalled leuing to their followers but the spirit of obedience: for he knew very wel the wicked nature of man. And had we had libertie at al times to inuent, to shorten, & to lengthen: alas what a sort of heresies had we made in the world, consider-

ring that although we haue our lesson in writing, yet we cannot tell how to kæpe our selues from falsifieng and corrupting the text, & from making glosses euen in despite of it?

Now when they sæ that we demurre vpon all that they laie to our charge: they aske vs, what authoritie then hath the Church, chieflie the Primitiue Church? as who shuld say that we meant to defect it vtterlie. I haue told alreadie according to the small leisure that I haue had, how far extended the paines of the shepheards that followed the Apostles. In truth a greater trauell were behouefull for the handling of this question: yet notwithstanding ye shall sæ howe the Churche hath bæne wont to deale, concerning the bookes of saluation. Eleazar, Phinees, and the reste of their time, had bæne eiewitnesses of the wonders that had bæne wrought by Moyses, which no man could haue done vnlesse he had had the spirit of God. They that had heard and sæne those things, bare witnesse of them; & the church receiuing their witnesse, receiued therewithall the writinges of that great friend of God, warranted both by the inward instinct of the Holy-ghost, and by the secret force of the truth it selfe conteined in those bœks, that they were the very bookes of saluation: but chieflie beeing grounded vpon the wonderfull things wrought by that great personage, who hauing done thinges aboue the reache of man, could not write any thing which was not diuine.

Afterward the Prophets whom the Lord sent, helde on in their sayengs and writings, the same and the like inspirations that Moyses had. They taught the like lesson, they were full of one selfe-same sequel of true prophesies; which was a sure signe that one selfe-same spirite accompanied their mouth and their hand. Moreouer he endewed those men with wonderfull graces of great and miraculous dooings. The church of their time bare witnesse therof; and the Church that ensued them, beeing instructed by those marks both outward and inward, receiued their prophesies and writinges as authentike. Finally when the Lord himselfe was come into the world, he vttered, taught, and spake

spake his bookes of his glad tidings to his faithful notaries. Those great persons witnessed what they had seen & heard of their maister, setting down in their hystorie the accomplishment of the prophesies begun in the bookes of Moises, and continued on in the bookes of all the prophets. Hærby was acknowledged a continuall holding on of one self-same truth, which could not proceed but from one selfe-same spirit. These great men shone bright in notable fauours of their Lord, in extraordinarie knowledges, and in miracles vnheard of. The Church of their time which beheld them bare record of them, and receiued their writings as full of truth and authoritie. That Church then was able to discerne the true from the false, and could say, This epistle is S. Paules, and that is not. But yet is it not the authoritie of that church that maketh the truth to be the truth, or this or that epistle of S. Paule to be ful of true doctrine: the onlie spirit of God is the bestower of that. A princes officers, his parliaments, his bailifs, and such other doo indeede receiue his letters, they acknowlege his hand and seale, they verifie them to be his, and they publish them: but they direct them not, they make them not, they signe them not, they seale them not. Well may they intercept them, but they may not put any thing to them, either a new or contrary to them. The goldsmith can well discouer the difference betweene gold and copper, but his so doing doth not make gold, neither can he increase the substance of the gold by adding siluer or lead vnto it; or turne the siluer & leade into gold by adding them to it, or mingling them with it.

Neuertheless if the case concerne but some one particular point, I my selfe must not receiue a booke or a doctrine, vnlesse I see it receiued first by the Church. For the thing that is particular ought to passe no further, but to rest ther. But when euen in the Church it selfe there is some doubte among the shepheards therof: then must they resort to the booke, and the booke must iudge therof, and that is the true vnderstanding of this matter.

This foundation being laid, when afterward I come

to consider the things that concerne our beliefe: I say further that there is no reason at all to giue vs the name of Heretike. And heretike (to speake properlie) is hee that affirmeth and vpholdeth some opinion which he hath chosen to himselfe; and not he that debateth or denieth the opinion of another man. And sith it is so, they haue don wrong in reprochyng vs with that cognizance of dishonour, seeing we affirme not any thinge to bee true, but that which all Christendome affirmeth to be so as well as we. Wherin I appeale for record to the consciences of themselues which do so name vs. Which thing was neuer found in the doctrine of any heretike that euer hath bin. Now then there is not any error in our affirmatiue. Also as touching the negatiues it cannot bee laide to our charge, that euer wee haue denied any commandement of the lawe, or any text of the Scripture, or any article of the fayth. For as touching praier for the dead, inuocation of saints, the opinion of merits and purgatorie, in denieng them we deny no authenticall text, no expresse commandement: it is well knowne that there is none such for them, and that those which defend them, do draw their arguments from inductions of the scripture, or from examples of antiquitie, or from the rules of tradition. Therfore they do vs wrong in that case.

I loke that some man should by and by answer me, that we deny the text and the expresse words in the mysterie of the holy cõmunion. This is to great a question to be shut vp in so narrow a roome: I will speake thereof but onlye this word. We denie not the words, but we denie the interpretation that is giuen to them. These be the two opinions: let iudgement be giuen of them without affection. God sayth, This is My body, this is my bloud. Herupon we haue receiued a commandment: As oft as ye meet together, doo this in remembrance of me. We therfore doo this action in remembrance of the Lord: and in dooing it, both of vs as wel the one side as the other, do acknowlege the mighty power and holinesse thereof, to the one a sacrament, to the other a sacrifice. And that is the difference

betwixt

betwixt vs. The Romish Catholicks say, that after ỹ speaking of the holy words, the bread is changed into flesh, & the wine into bloud. That vnder the formes of bread and wine so changed, there is the holy body of God wholly such as it was vpon the wood of the Crosse, which also came downe from heauen: and that they eate it & breake it bodily with their teeth, but yet to spirituall nourishment. We say that in receiuing the bread and wine which are signes visible, signes which should not be signes if they signified nothing, nor should make a Sacrament if they were not such signes that cannot be both the signe and the thing signified both together: I say that in receiuing thē with our bodily hands, and in chewing them with bodily teeth, we spiritually and by faith, do eate the true bread that came downe from heauen, the true bodie, and true bloud of the L. in spirituall nourishment.

If this be heresie, then was Tertullian an hereticke, which saith, This is my body, that is to say, this is a figure of my body. And so was Saint Austine, who saith. Beleeue, and thou hast eaten. Nowe if this be the greatest question that wee haue to debate: I dare boldly say and boldly promise, that if euer we come to a holy and free counsell, Gods spirite will vndoubtedly pronounce what he will haue to be beleeued concerning that matter, & good reason it is that the matter should be referred vnto it. But howsoeuer the case stand, I vpholde that after the rule which they shew vs, either all the things which haue been brought into the church vnto this day, be conformable to Gods word; or else that since the time of the Apostles the Church might adde or diminish. And if it be so, then I confesse we be hereticks, if we conforme not our selues vnto them. But if on the contrary part it stand true, that the authority of the holy Ghost and of the bookes written by his Secretaries, surmount the authoritie of the visible church militant, so as it is not lawful for men to correct ỹ books of saluation, nor so muche as to put any thing vnto them: May if wee can proue manifestly to the eie, and poynt out with the

finger, that many of the things which are receiued, are not onely added, but also be contrarie to Gods woꝛd: then deserue wee not that name foꝛ demaunding onely reforꝛmation.

These be the thinges which I had to gather out of the rules of diuinitie, to answere those which without talking to vs and without hearing vs, do by and by condemn vs foꝛ denounced hereticks, if we chaunge not our religion: and which will haue the king to be guilty of the bꝛinging of Gods wꝛath vppon his Realme, if he do not the same. Let them iudge of my sayings without affection: as well as I wꝛite them without an effection, and they shall sée at the least this one thing, that reason in such cases can do moꝛe than foꝛce can: and that hearing and speaking, and not quarrelling and smiting, do cause the truth to be found; and that the king being led that way, may a thousand times easier be bꝛought home to the place from whence they say he is departed, than if they should set all his realme on a rebellion against him, and the Popes should arme all Europe to conuert him by dint of swoꝛd.

As touching the reasons of pollicie, foꝛ the which men blame him, in that he hath not yet pꝛofessed the Catholick, Apostolicke, and Romaine religion: I knowe not what to say of them: Although it haue bẽn lawfull foꝛ such as perchance had no God at all, to intermingle their discourses with mens doinges, in counselling Pꝛinces concerning the cases of their soules health: yet I thinke not that with good conscience I may do the same in answering them. Besides that, there is such a weakenesse and vanitie in theyꝛ discourses, that it were a dishonoꝛ to set a seuenfold shield against the pꝛickinges of their bodkins. I haue alreadie heretofoꝛe declared, what the great and notable causes are, foꝛ which these tolly wꝛiters take vpon them to pꝛophesie the kings ouerthꝛow oꝛ pꝛeseruation, if hee hasten oꝛ reuerse so solemne an action: their reasons are al like the authoꝛs of them, all good to make men crie out vpon an Huguenot, all mat to delight Water bearers, oꝛ the veriest

dizzard

dizzard and madbraine, or the vileſt raſcall in the realme: all framed to proue that the ſubuerſion of the ſtate ſtandeth vppon this quarrell: And in fine all leuelled at this one marke, to diſcredite the king both with his enemies, and to make him and vs guiltie of all the miſeries of France. It is for babes therefore to anſwere them: For ſurely Juſtus, the reply would not beſeeme your ſeueritie. You know very well that as long as kings liue, they haue a care of their life: but when they be once dead, they paſſe not whether ye carie them to S. Dennis or to S. Cleryes. And yet theſe men count it one of the ſtrongeſt reaſons that can be, to turne our king from our way to theirs. Alonely one of them encounter (at leaſt wiſe if I can hold my patience) and yet vnto that alſo I will anſwere but a word or two. They aſſure the king, that in becomming a Catholicke, he ſhall take away the pretence which his enemies take hold of to make warre againſt him, and that all the Cities of France will out of hand yeeld themſelues vnto him. Heere a man had need to be tied with foure Chaynes, for feare of looſing his wit, his diſcretion, his reaſon and his patience, if hee will without choler heare, not this reaſon, but this fable, not onely full of falſhood, (ah, he that ſeekes to make himſelfe a king by force of armes, wanteth no pretences) but alſo full of cunning, of trecherie and of treaſon. Whether (thinke ye) that by auoiding this pretence of our enemies, ſhall we do more wrong to thoſe which are deſirous to ſee their owne doinges iuſtified thereby, or to the king vppon whoſe ſhoulders, (by his pretending to flatter them) ſhall be laid the whole burthen and crime of all the miſchieſes, that haue come by the ciuill warre? Shall I ſet ſo little by him, O thou Scribe of Antichriſt, as to geue thee leaue to ſay vnto him, Sir, becauſe you will not become a Catholicke, you be the cauſe why your ennemies do iuſtly take Armes, and the realme is iuſtly puniſhed of God. And are there then any yet ſtil at this day, which beleeue ỹ the caſe of Religion is the cauſe of our war? Alas if you haue beleeued it vnto this day, againſt all our true proteſtations

made at ỹ beginning of the wars & euer since: at least wise let the murthering of that monkish king, (giue mée leaue O sacred maiestie to speake soth) that hipocritish king, the king that was died red and besmeared with the blood of those that are called heretickes, serue you for an example that no regard at all would haue bœn had of a new Catholicke, of a Catholick of fortie yeres olde, of one that were conuerted by the sword, of a turnecoate that had altered his profession, because he was borne in hand that he should neuer elle be king, vnlesse he toke the habit, and of such a religious person as had bœn slandered alreadie with the casting off his frocke among the thistles, such a one as men terme a Relaps, a person past repentance, and a person excommunicated. O what a madnesse it were to admitte these reasons? and yet good God in what places be they spoken still? Whosoeuer thou bæst that madest the discourse which I speake of, thou art not so ignorannt of our doings, but that thou hast afore this time red the bœks that bœr printed at Paris and in other places more than a yære ago, wherein it is fully discoursed at length, that though the king should become a Catholicke thencefoorth, yet should it come too late, he were not to be receiued any more, vntill some long and cruell warre of his against them of the reformed Religion, had first assured the zealous Catholicks, of the sinceritie of his conuersion. And in good soth I doubt, but that the first demand which they would make vnto him should be that he should change his profession: & the next, that he should make war vpon ỹ Huguenots. And there is no likelihood that he shalbe more regarded in ỹ behalf, than was his predecessor: who in the yær 1585, was fain to enter into armes vpon ỹ quarell. Among thẽ a king cannot be Catholick, vnles he put his whole realme in hazard of vndoing, to kil and root out an hereticke. After this maner do they complain, that the last king was not a true and zealous Catholicke: and after the same maner wil they alwaies suspect the conscience of him that now is: for among them there is none other sign of a good zeale but that.

Kæpe

Keepe your drugges (you sellars of Triacle) for such as make reckoning of them: ye speake to men and not to children: we know better than you what the parties of France are, and which of the enemies they be that are caried alonelie with zeale, we know all the Cities, we know their will and power. And although the change of Religion were a thing indifferent and ordinarie, yet would it behoue vs to haue other assurances than your weake words, to cause the king therevpon to open so great and so vnrepairable a gap to the Clergie. I beseech thee Iustus and such as with thee shall read this treatise, to hold me excused if I abridge it more than I should in this behalfe, and doe passe ouer all humane reasons in a matter of so great importance as salnation and euerlasting life are. I protest vnto you, that at my pennes end I expressly say a thousand and a thousand of the strongest and worthiest of them, and which might iustly haue kept our king vnto this day from altering any part of his religion, specially after the manner that is required of him. It is not I alone that know them, all Fraunce doth well see them, and also the strange accidents which this sudden and violent alteration would haue brought. Therefore I let them passe, being sorie that I haue giuen my selfe the bridle so far, as once to haue opened my mouth to speake of them. And you may well thinke, that my doing of it is but in scorne of these Thronacters of matters of State, who thinke themselues to haue tolde him a goodly tale, and a great mysterie, when they haue cried out alowd, Sir, it is long of none but your selfe that you reigne not in peace: for would you heare but one Masse, all your enimies would kneele downe vpon the ground. I intend not to tell them here, whether his so doing should be good or bad, that belongeth to the learned. But if you counsell him that, to the end he might reigne in safetie: then must I needs say thus much vnto you, at least wise bring to passe that his so doing may not be in vaine. O ye counsellors, not of the truth, but of likelihoods, haue ye alreadie forgotten the late king? must you be so often put in mind of one selfsame matter?

Let vs make an end Iustus, for that wil neuer be brought to passe. But yet let me first discharge our enemies of one obiection, whereof they make a great bulwarke, and vnder the couert whereof, many euen of our men doe oftentimes seeke to shrowd themselues. For (to their seeming) the holy anker of their follie is fastened therin. Therfore when they see that false pretense of theirs ouerthrowne with so many true maters, and when it is shewed them by example of the last king, that the conscience of this king concerneth not them a whit: they runne to another extremitie, saieng that their warring is but only to preserue their owne religion: not that they be yet persecuted, nor y they be forced against their consciences, but for feare least it may come to passe hereafter, and that some heretical king may stablish his misbeleefe in this realme, to the ouerthrowe of the true religion: and therupon the English catholike plaies the mad man, in arguing vpon the example of his mistresse. ”

This is the best peece of their Harnesse, and yet is it verie ill riueted. Logicians say that all comparisons doe halte in some part: as for this, it hath not so much as one good legge.

The king of England, Henrie the eight, had reigned ten yeares in peace and honour in his estate, and had all his realme inured to obedience. In this time (as al men know) the skill of learning and of all Sciences, was more receyued and esteemed throughout all Christendome, than it had bene of twelue hundred yeares afore. In his time the complaints that Luther and others made against the abuses that were thrust into the church, and namely against the inordinate authoritie of the Popes, so touched all mens eares, that euen in his Realme as wel as in other places, many men desired and demaunded a reformation. Therupon insued a strange euent. This king (otherwise a great Prince) being verie much giuen to women, after the manner of that age (which was plentiful in that fruit almost throughout all estates) when he came to the Crowne, was counselled to marrie the King of Arragons daughter, who had afore

afore bene wife to his elder brother, who had left hir vntouched (as the report goeth) because of some disease that tooke him the very night of his mariage. King Henrie did it by counsell, to bee the more strengthened by that alliance. Neuertheless within a while after, he left hir companye, notwithstending that hee had had much adoo to obtaine license to marrie hir. But dispensation to bee diuorsed from hir, was vtterly denyed him. And when hee had done it of his owne authoritie, hee was condemned for it by the Pope and by his Legate. But he was entered alredie into another loue, and besides that, his people misliked of the alliaunce with Spaine, which was reported to bee incestuous, and he was greatly offended with the Pope who fed vpon him with his authoritie by occasion of that matter. Nowe for as much as this mischefe befell in a tyme that the world cryed out against the Popes, it was very easie to persuade the king to shake off their yoke, and to bee contented to haue the vniuersall and Catholike doctrine, howbeit with such ecclesiasticall gouernment and peculiar order of the clergie in his countrie, as should depend vpon none but himselfe alone: a case that was neuer difficult to bee proued, and such as in truth was neuer against the priuileges and liberties of the French church. In so much that therupon the king (who, as I said, was very wel obeied and feared in his countrie) finding his people offended at the abuses that had bin receiued into the church, caused a motion of reformation to be propounded to his Bishops, who anon receiued it, and so his Clergie and the whole Realme were discharged of the yoke both spirituall & temporall of the Bishops of Rome. Let our Popes bethink them of this, if they will: for it may be that we also be watching for an opportunitie to do as much, if they deale not better with vs. Now they that ar acquainted with the state of England, do know that there the Commons are the stronger part; and that the greteſt of the Nobilitie & of the Church, are in subiection to passe vnder the hand of the executioner for euery small offence. They that can iudge well of worldly affaires, know

that of all states the popular is readiest to receiue innouation. And indeed we see that Iesus Christ and his Apostles began to worke saluation by the eares of the simple people, as for the Scribes, the Pharisies, the Doctors, the Magistrates, and the princes, whether it were that so God liketh better to communicat himselfe to the inferior and ignorant sorte, as on whome his diuine power glistereth the more brightly, because it is not there darkened with any clowds of humane causes; or in respect of the ordinarye nature of man, who as soone as he imagineth himselfe to haue any thing of more excellencie than the simple common sorte becommeth therupon more vneasie to be taught: they be the last that are called. Therfore it was easie for that king, who had bene long obeied, to persuade his people to the thing which they beleeued alredie more than he did. And for mine owne part I am of opinion, that if a king of the like humor had bene in Fraunce in the yeare 1560, it would haue bene no hard matter for him to haue done as much. For when the greatest number be persuaded to a thing, it is easie to bring the rest to consent to them.

Now in setting downe the other part of the comparison let vs examine a little whether the same thing may be done at this day in Fraunce. I say that if the people either here or elsewhere, be not agreeable willing and desirous therof, it is vnpossible for a Prince to bring in any alteration in the maner of seruing God. If a king will bring in any new thing into his realme, his doing thereof must needs be eyther with the good will or against the will of his subiectes, with their good will, eyther by example or by persuasion: as touching example, haue there not in times past bin princes in the Church which haue bene Arrians, Nouatians, Backsliders, and Apostataes, whose example hath corrupted the puritie of the Church? So long as this holy body retaineth the truth of the holy-Ghost for his guide, it is not capable of euill imitation or of false persuasion. The diuell could shew to the sonne of God al the kingdoms of the world: but yet could not that make him to leape from the pinacle of

the Temple. That is not to be feared. Againe, we must remember this saying of Caiphas: If this new thing (here yée see how it is not now alate, that the truth hath bene reproched with the name of nouelties) proceed from God, you men cannot destroy it: but if it come from elsewhere, it will decay of it selfe.

As touching force or violence, let vs consider a little what order a king may hold in it: First hee must possesse himselfe of all the great Cities in Fraunce, and replenishe them with men of his owne Religion. Well therfore, that may yet be done, if the war hold still; for if he winne them by force, he may put in whome he list, but then must hee doe it with strangers, for there be not Huguenots enow in all Fraunce to furnish out Paris alone. Againe, he is aided and succoured as well by Catholicks as by Protestants: and shal he stand trieng and chusing out of a Protestant gouernour, and of a Protestant garrison for euery Citie that hee taketh? What will all the Catholikes saye to that? That cannot be: and it is well seene also how he dealeth in that behalfe. But on the other side, if there were peace, how we could he put garrisons into all the great Cities? There is not one Citie that would receiue them, and as for to compell them to it, how shoulde he? Haue they lesse priuileges than Rochell? That cannot be. And in very deede hée hath Cities that are full of obedient subiectes, for the keeping of whose people in awe, there needeth none other garrison than the Cobler that hath hyred the toppe of the gate. Thus much concerning the people.

Againe for the Nobilitie, what meanes is there to compell a twenty or thirtie thousand Gentlemen (for so many of them there be in Fraunce) all Peeres, all officers of the Crowne, and all Lordes of honour and estimation? With whome, or where shall the counsell be holde against them? who shall assist the king in doing it? Finallye, as touching the Clergie, who shal enforce the Church, or who shal compell the Clergie, so long as the mightie and strong places be vncompelled? The Ministers of Rochel perchance, and

the Ministers of Bergerack, will go cite the Cardinals, Bishops and Archbishops to Geneua. Ye greatly deceiue your selues ye hipocrits, if you thinke to skare them with that. Thinke you in conscience that you your selues beleeue it and are soze afraide of it?

The grossest wit in the woꝛld, if he consider it but one quarter of an houre, will well discerne that the thing which I speake is full of truth. But a man had need to haue a fine witte to discerne the cunning of this imaginatiue feare. The olde French Pꝛouerbe is true, That there is no such fishing as in a troubled water. I haue seene some men that were neuer well at ese, but when they were playeng the bulle-bodies, which of purpose doe cause coletarriers to bꝛing euill newes, to kindle a fire that they maye haue cause to crie water. What shoulde the seditious person doe without sedition? What pꝛofit should the Clerke of a Foꝛtresse haue without warre? How should hee gaine thirtie thousande Crownes without that? And when there is no moze mischefe in deede, yet must he say there is still, and that moze is to come: so that though there be no killing noꝛ no burning, yet it must be sayd there is both still. To bee shoꝛt, they must beware in any wise, that they suffer not mens mindes to taste of mildnesse, of oꝛder and of peace, they must be well ware that they let not the fire go out, foꝛ it is harder to kindle it agayne than to keepe it burning. And see how God hath thereby iustified our doings, blessed be he foꝛ it. Foꝛ whereas after burnings, toꝛtures, and slaughters, we could scarse be made to gird our swoꝛdes to our sides: they had alreadie drawne theirs out of the scabberd, afoꝛe they were so much as manaced.

Neuertheleſſe, although all this were so (there is no shifte but I must neede speake this bold woꝛd, foꝛ one matter dꝛaweth on another) although the king whom vnexamined, vnheard and vnseene, you haue denounced an heretike, an Apostata, and a man vnwoꝛthy the company of Chꝛistians, were such a one indeed, yea though he were yet woꝛse, so as he were a persecuter, yet notwithstanding ye King-

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leaders of the Clergie, tel me whether that euen for al these things together (whereas you see none of them all in him) it were lawfull for you to denounce him vnworthie of the kingdome: shew me for it some one authoritie, commaundement, or example. Tell me whether the subiects of this age may, for those causes lawfully reuerse the order which God hath stablished in this Realme, by consent of all fathers and forefathers, and by the continuall succesſe of so many yeares. Tell me if euer S. Peter and S. Paul did take vpon them the power to giue or take away states and kingdomes or if euer the Christian discipline and the censures of the Church, did euer extend their power so farre as to the fellowship of the body of the Lorde: or if euer excommunications were vsed to any priuate person to bereaue him of his goods: and howe then may it bee done to a King, to bereaue him of his kingdome. Tell mee yet further, why the sonne of God sayd, Giue vnto Cæsar that which is Cæsars; and that vnto God which was Gods. Why was hee angrie with his disciple that would haue armed himself against the worldly magistrat, blaming him that he considered not, how that (if he had listed) he could in the twinkling of an eye, haue had legions of Angels at his set. What was the cause, that the great God himselfe being become man, the Lord of Lordes and head of his Church, full of power, glorie, and might, abode the iudgement of a Heathen man, without appealing from him, without resisting him, and without defending himselfe? and you sillie flies and little wormes of the earth, contrarie to the example and prohibition of the eternall sonne of God, will take vpon you to ouerthrow kings, to dispose of their Crownes, to kill and murther princes, to curse the remembrance of them, and to expulse their successors. It is you that be the heretikes, and not we: for neither authoritie of the scriptures, nor the example of the whole Church, be it in the time of her perfection or afterward, doth teach you so to doe.

Neuertheleſſe we must beare with you, for denouncing our king vnworthie to reign for heresies sake, for you delt

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worse with his predecessor the yeare afore for lesse cause, against whom there was not any suspition of that matter. But they that are minded to bring all to hauocke, doe neuer tie themselues to any one pretext alone.

Yet notwithstanding, I will say thus much, that if we were in a kingdome that went by election, and that being in a publike assemblie I were to persuade men to chuse a King, out of doubt I would not counsell them to take an Atheist, a Lechor, an Heretike, a Turk, or a Iew. But when there commeth such a one by the order that God hath set, what knowest thou, thou wretch, to what ende God hath sent him to thee? wilt thou preuent his iudgement? Among so many kings as were in Iuda and Israell God gaue his people scarse two that were good. What canst thou tell, whether his sending of a persecuter bee to quicken vp the fayth and constancie of his Church, to increase it by the ashes of his holy martyrs, and to make it to prosper by that meanes? But I haue no hold of my selfe. Nay, nay, feare not that ye Churchmen, it is no reason that ye should yet bereaue vs of the honour of persecution, which is one of the certaynest markes of the truth. Heretikes haue alwaies bene condemned, but neuer persecuted, there is no example therof, and although it be the cause and not the punishment that maketh the martyr, yet would God neuer suffer that holy garland of victorie, and that goodly tytle of honour, to be put vpon the head of an heretike. Or if he haue at any time permitted the punishment and paynes to lighte vpon them yet was it neuer seene that they had the cheresull constancie, the glorious gladnesse, and the disdain of torments which the Martyrs haue caried with them in the water, in prison, in the aire and in the fire, making euery element both accessarie and witnesse to their innocencie.

God will not haue his Church to growe by prosperitie, nor by the fauour of princes. It prospereth vnder Tyrants, she is tilled with the coulter of torments, she is amended with ỹ dong of vnsemly doings of the kings of the world, she is watered with his owne blod and teares, the flames

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of fire are her sunne shine, toztures are her due, shee flo-risheth in the autumne of aduersitie, and beareth her goodly fruites in the winter of affliction. Compare these qualities with the maner of your gouernment manie yeres since, and yee shall finde that your excesse, your wealth, your ease, your countenance in the woꝛld, your pompe, your crownes, your Pyters, your bꝛightnesse, your glistering in gold and pꝛecious stones, and al the ri-ches which you haue so sweetly and so aboundantly pos-sessed, haue no acquaintance with those thinges. And surely euen those markes alone, though ye had no mo to be knowne by, are cause ynough to conclude, that you be not of the Church of God.

Therefoꝛe let vs now hardily make an end. And foꝛ, asmuch as it is not meet to tell of incõueniences, without telling the remedies of them: Let me conclude with good counsell. I speake no moꝛe to our enemies: foꝛ I know they haue other matters in their heades, and they haue no care of our miseries. But I speake to such among vs, as being carried (I dare say) with good zeale of religion, and peace, doe daily wishe that the king would become a Catholicke, beleeuing that that is the onely meane to re-stoꝛe peace vnto France.

If you which be of that opinion, and haue rushed at it, do say you will still pꝛoceed in it: (although it be moꝛe meet to wish the vniting of the whole Church together a-gaine, than the conuersion of anie one man) then follow the counsell that is expedient to bꝛing you thereto, the which I am about to giue vnto you. Ye admit the pꝛe-tence which our rebellious people vse that shꝛoud theyꝛ disobedience vnder the cloke of religion: ye receiue their sayinges, thinking it to be true that if the king had once heard a masse, they would out of hand bꝛing their wea-pons and let them downe at his feete: So be it. Let vs see what it will bee, when it comes to the pꝛoofe.

For in trueth it is great pitie to see, that yet still there be men among vs so simple, as to thinke that this alteration would giue vs peace out of hand, and to beleeue that it is long of the king only, that we see not good daies, and the blessing of God come again vpon this realme: wherupon men fall to murmuring, mutining, and framing of monsters concerning the third partie, wherein by imagination they imbarke all France. If it be so, then doe not say it onely, but do it also. Shew vs deeds & not words, determinations, and not deuices, articles in writing, and not discourses after meales, thinges in being, and not in may being. I speake vnto you as a politician, and I am constrayned so to doe, as well to apply my self vnto you, by shewing you howe hard the thing that you stand vpon is to be brought to passe, and how vnauaileable it is being done, as also because (as I haue protested heretofore) I meane not to set anie mans diuinitie to schoole, but (at a word) to learne.

I counsell you therefore to begin first at the subiectes, as reason would ye should, and afterwarde ye may end with the king. Feele a little the pulse of the Catholickes that are our ennemies, you that agree with them in the maner of serving God, and differ not from them but in the case that concerneth the state, which you vphold, and they would beate downe: Cause the Duke of Mayne, and all the Cities on his part, and the chiefe of the clergie, and of the Nobilitie, that are with him, to offer presently by their deputies vpon common and publicke deliberation, to yeld true, sound, and absolute obedience to the king, such as his predecessors were wont to haue vpon condition that he shall make profession of the Catholicke, Apostolicke and Romaine religion.

In the meane time while he is framing himselfe by instruction, (for as yet you scarse deeme that hee can at one leape, leape full out of the one into the other, afore

he

hee vnderstande wherein he hath erred, concerning the point of saluation or damnation; for otherwise there is no worldly consideration great enough or good enough to make him indifferent concerning the kingdome:) In the meane time, say I, while you bee instructing him, (and peradventure in instructing him you may also instruct your selues) cause all armour and weapons to bee hanged vp vpon a pin generallie throughout all France; make the strangers to repaire home, let them not meddle with our affayres either one or other, let them giue vs leaue to decide our matters among our selues alone. You will graunt mee that the preparation must néedes begin at that point, the fire that is taken from the chimney in the kitchin in making the feast, must first bee put out before ye sit downe to the table; the feauer must bee taken out of the body and the Gangrene out of the wood, yer any thinge can be doone towardes the recouerie of them.

Now to inferre hérevpon that it were dangerous so to doo, bycause the leaguers should in the meane while be disarmed: it is a grosenes. That reason might perchance haue béene good at an othertime for the poore Huguonets, which helde no more but Seuenes: but as for them that are nowe maysters of the greatest Cities in France, and moreouer haue now about the king so many great Lords of their Religion and faith, of whome they may assure themselues there is no reason that they should be afrayd of that: to bee short it is but an imaginatiue disarming. The king for the dooing heereof, shal not enter vpon the sudden into al their strongest Cities, nor by and by binde them hande and foote, to bereaue them of their force. They shall alwaies stande vppon their feete, to begin againe when they list.

When afterward, to find the king, come well furnished with your warders, & well assured of your sayeng.

First of all for reasons of his estate, offer him the generall consent of all France, to yeelde him obedience: and to stablish peace vniuersallie throughout the Realme, make him iudge of the difference that is betweene the possessing of a countrey that is wholie gotten alreadie, and altogither peaceable, and the trauelling with a thousand hazards to conquer one. Paint him two tables, the one of peace, the other of warre: in the one a flourishing citie enriched with all manner of goodes, statelie in buildings, replenished with ioy and diuers pleasures, preparing him a gallant and princelie entertaynement: and in the other make to his view a Cytty besieged, ruines, heapes of stones and dead corses, walles opened with breaches, gates dammed vppe as well againste their friendes as enemyes, Pallaces layd vppon the ground, fire burning in the toppes of houses, sword and bloud aboue, and rauishment and pillage beneath. Forget not also the goodly speaches, whereof such matter is fruitefull: and I assure my selfe that they will not be vnprofitable vnto you, but that you will the soner thereby bee perswaded to peace for the welfare of the realme.

Secondlie to make the king on his part the more capable of the best Diuinitie, choose out of the whole bodie of all the Catholikes of France, (I meane not only such as being of the wiser sort, haue not forgotten their duty, but also euen of his enemies, to the intent that nothing may be omitted) choose, I say, the best learned and skilfullest Diuines ye can, such as are most to be reuerenced both for their learning and for their life. Let them speake vnto him, let them heare him, let them say vnto him at the least that which they would say to a Turke or a Mahometane: Thou man that art a stranger vnto the Church, thou knowest not God, thou art in error, thou holdest an opinion contrarie to the truth: and that is the least reuerence that can be yeelded to a king.

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But all this shall be lawfull for them, hee shall gyue
§ them leaue, he shall indure it. But let them also be contented to be answered, that he and those by whome hee hath beene instructed, may mildly yeeld account of that which they haue learned and taught. And therewithall let them for their part put away their stomaching, and informe him at large of the truth, shewing wherein hee hath ben ouertaken, what truth hath ben concealed from him, and what vntruth hath beene put vnto him. For it is well knowne, that his profession hath not permitted him to know all thinges. And when they haue taught him well, let them adiure him by the name of God, by the regard of his owne soule health, and by the consideration of the great number of myseries which his wilfulnesse shall else procure: that he yeeld himselfe pliant and teachable, and that he set aside all passions, opening his eares, and hearkening vnto them. And then ye need not to doubt, but that in such a place, to such a purpose, and in so solemne an assemblie, Gods spirit will certeinlie make the action to profit (yea rather than faile) by extraordinarie miracle.

If after all this, ye see that contrarie to Gods impulsion, contrary to Gods spirit, and contrary to the truth, he still proceedeth on wilfully and of a malitious purpose to thrust from him the pure seruice of God: intending to prosecute Gods church, and not to preserue it: then shall the rebelling of his subiects be the more to bee borne withall and excused, (at least wise if it may be excuseable) or else ye shal then haue the more cause to deem him guilty of all our miseries.

But if it appeare euidently, that he neuer meant but to serue God purelie, to followe the truth which God hath commanded, and that he hath alwaies had his eares and hart open to heare and to learn, yea and that least he should depart from it, & prefer a worldly kingdom before

the kingdome of Heauen, he hath put himselfe in hazard a thousand times since he was borne, of the losse of all his tytles of honour, of all his dignities, yea and of his very life: and if on the contrary part (as God wil doubtlesse bring it to light) the world see the vglie wickednes of our enimies, as egerlie bent as wild beasts, never to vnfasten their teeth from the hope of this kingdome, till they haue sucked out both the life and the bloud: Then shall at least wise the trueth be discerned from sleight, they that are giltie of our miseries shalbe blamed for it, and France shall see to whome shes ought to impute the blame of her decaie, and you your selues being better resolued vppon some other remedie, and hauing forgone the hope of the sweetnesse that yee looked for, shal deeme with vs that the hand of God is vpon this realme, ready (I foresee) to make some great and notable change.

FINIS.

gabriel harvey: this August: 1592.

Il legger nutrica lo ingegno.